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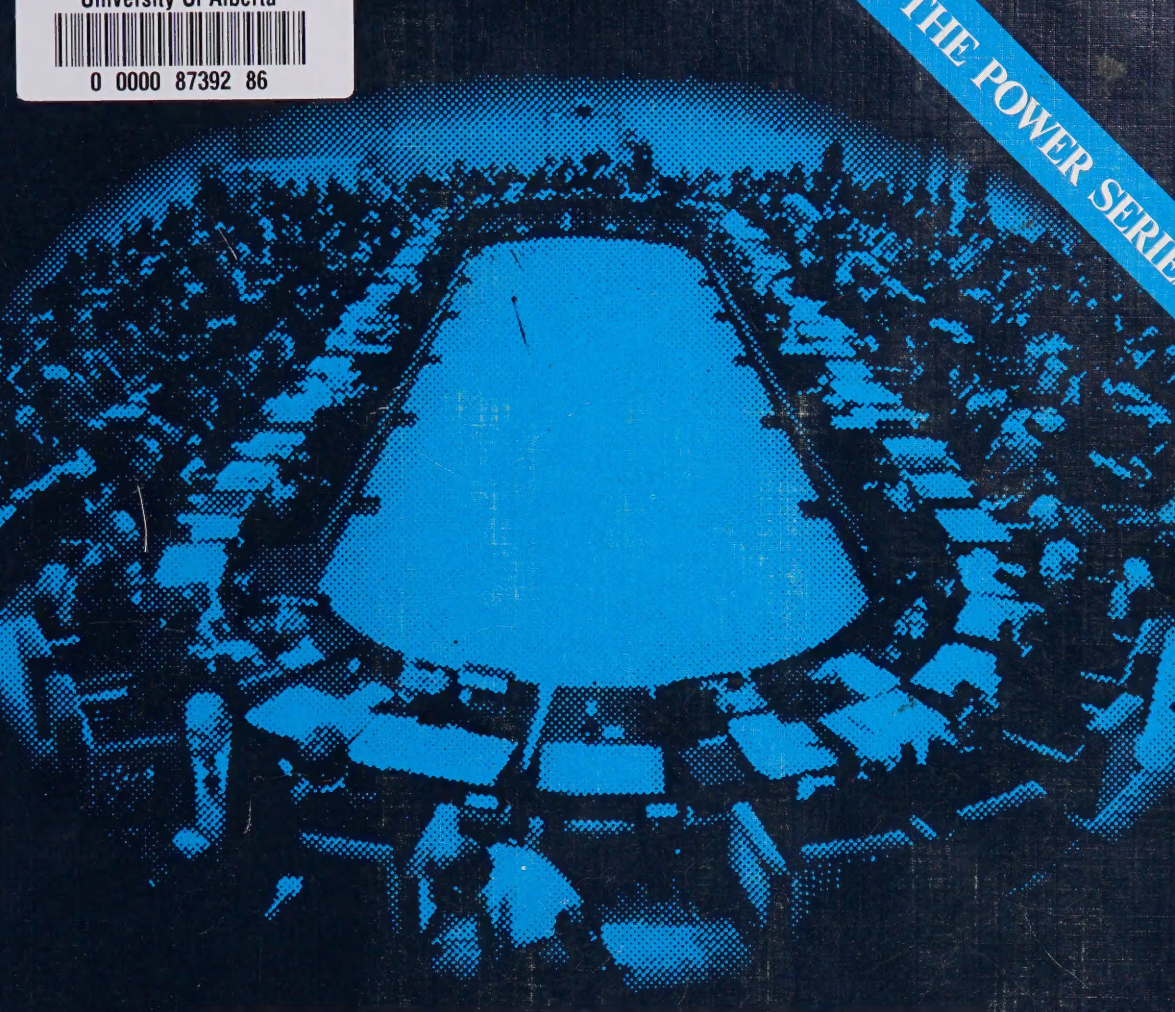

CHALLENGE OF POWER

CANADA AND THE WORLD

JOHN A. MILLER/DONALD A. HURST

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CHALLENGE OF POWER

CANADA AND THE WORLD

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Challenge Of Power

Canada and the World

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Preface

People, like countries, play many roles. A young person, for example, is a daughter or son to parents, a student to a teacher, a friend, a grandchild, perhaps an employee and maybe a girlfriend or boyfriend. Each individual learns how to act appropriately in his or her relationships within these roles.

Similarly, nations play many roles. The roles Canada plays as a neighbour, a donor, a friend, a partner, a peacemaker and a competitor are the subject you will be studying in this text.

The authors hope that each student and teacher will experience the vitality of these roles and the challenges they present to our citizens in deciding how we should conduct our affairs.

The directions Canada takes in international affairs are not made solely by our diplomats and political leaders. These decisions reflect the will of our people and that is why a knowledge of this Canadian challenge is important for each one of us.

We would particularly like to thank Paul Paquette, whose support and encouragement has guided us in the development of this project, the editorial staff at Academic Press, and Barbara Horton, who prepared the manuscript for publication.

This book is dedicated to our own students and to those other young Canadians whom we have not met but in whom we have confidence to make the right decisions for Canada in the future.

Donald Hurst
John Miller

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Unit 1

Canada in North America

Introduction

A major factor of world politics in the twentieth century has been the growing power and influence of the United States. This power and influence has been felt in every part of the world. The Japanese turn on their television sets to look at Bonanza; *United States soldiers patrol the border between South and North Korea; United States missile sites are built in Turkey; Arabian pilots fly United States jet planes; United States businessmen build branch plants in Brazil; United States performers draw huge crowds in England;* Coca-Cola *is a word known throughout the world.*

Nowhere has this influence been felt more than in Canada. Pierre Elliott Trudeau once compared living next to the United States to sleeping with an elephant. "No matter how friendly and even-tempered the beast is, one is affected by every twitch and grunt." Economic problems that develop south of the 49th parallel quickly move north. We watch movies, listen to songs, read books and magazines and use products either "made in the U.S.A." or by subsidiaries of American companies.

However, as U.S. influence in Canada has grown, so have the arguments. Some Canadians suggest we must act immediately and decisively if we are to retain a Canadian identity. Often these people are branded as anti-American. Other Canadians say that we need the United States and must maintain the close relationship that has developed. And more and more people are asking what the future will hold if past trends continue.

In this unit you will be looking in more detail at the views described in the previous paragraph. You will be asked on numerous occasions to give your opinion on the questions that will be raised in the unit.

1/Canada and the United States: Viewpoints

Here are some opinions, expressed by a variety of people, on the relationship between Canada and the United States. These people range from Presidents and Prime Ministers to government officials, newspaper columnists and "people on the street." Some of these views were expressed several hundred years ago. Others were expressed quite recently.

> Come, then, my brethren, unite with us in an indissoluble union; let us run together to the same goal. We have taken up arms in defence of our liberty, our property, our wives, and our children; we are determined to preserve them or die. We look forward with pleasure to that day, not far remote, we hope, when the inhabitants of *America* shall have one sentiment, and the full enjoyment of the blessings of a free Government. Incited by these motives, and encouraged by the advice of many friends of liberty among you, the grand *American* Congress have sent an Army into your Province, under the command of General *Schuyler,* not to plunder, but to protect you; to animate and bring forth into action those sentiments of freedom you have disclosed, and which the tools of despotism would extinguish through the whole creation. To cooperate with this design, and to frustrate those cruel and perfidious schemes which would deluge our frontiers with the blood of women and children, I have detached Colonel *Arnold* into your country, with a part of the Army under my command. Necessaries and accommodations of every kind which you may furnish he will thankfully receive and render the full value. I invite you, therefore, as friends and brethren, to provide him with such supplies as your Country affords; and I pledge myself not only for your safety and security but for ample compensation. Let no man desert his habitation. Let no one flee as before an enemy. The cause of *America* and of liberty is the cause of every virtuous *American* citizen, whatever may be his religion or his descent.

George Washington, Proclamation to the Inhabitants of Canada, 1775

> The policy of our neighbours to the south of us has always been aggressive. . . . They coveted Florida and seized it; they coveted Louisiana and purchased it; they coveted Texas and stole it; and then they picked a quarrel with Mexico, which ended by their getting California. . . . The acquisition of Canada was the first ambition of the American Confederacy, and never ceased to be so, when her troops were a handful and her navy scarce a squadron. Is it likely to be stopped now, when she counts her guns afloat by thousands and her troops by hundreds of thousands?

Thomas D'Arcy McGee, February, 1865

Some Contemporary Views from the U.S.A.

Canada, I have long believed, is fighting a rearguard action against the inevitable. . . . The great land mass to the south exerts an enormous gravitational attraction.

Sooner or later, commercial imperatives* will bring about a free movement of all goods back and forth across our long border, and when that occurs, or even before it does, it will become unmistakably clear that countries with economies so inextricably intertwined must also have free movement of the other vital factors of production — capital, services and labor.

Jimmy Carter (President, 1976—.), February 21, 1977

It is time for Canadians and Americans to move beyond the sentimental rhetoric of the past. It is time for us to recognize:

that we have very separate identities;
that we have significant differences;
and that nobody's interests are furthered when these realities are obscured.

From "Uncle Sam Needs You" by Nicholas Von Hoffman, *Weekend*, March 12, 1977

The situation to the north can no longer be taken for granted by concerned Americans. The triumph of the PQ* in Quebec threatens, at the least, a greater degree of regionalism in Canada. . . . If the authority of the central government in Canada is therefore diminished, its ability to function as a foreign policy and hemispheric security partner with the United States might be impaired too. Greater regionalism could even threaten the ability of Canada to defend itself against foreign threats, which would almost surely be threats to the security of the United States.

Tom Wicker, Columnist, *New York Times* From "Uncle Sam Needs You" by Nicholas Von Hoffman, *Weekend*, March 12, 1977

I think if we need it and they won't give it to us, we should just take it.

National Guardsman, Fremont, Ohio

Canadians have been trying to have it both ways for far too long. Take this matter of the draft dodgers. We had draft dodgers pouring out of this country by the thousand, by the thousand. I read someplace that there were more than 10 000 draft dodgers in Toronto alone, and what did Canada do? It got up on its hind legs, is what, and said the draft dodgers was none of its business. Well, I lost a boy in Vietnam, he was blown up by a booby trap, and I take it hard when somebody says that my boy can be killed but if some other yellow-belly wants to run off and refuse to fight, why, that's all right with them. I've never been to Canada and I never want to go.

Independent businessman, Mobile, Alabama

My boy got his draft notice and said to hell with it and went up to Canada. He got a job up there, he's an English major, but he got a job working with crippled kids, for the government, not much money but he liked it. He couldn't come back here, of course, he's still on the indictment list as a deserter. He wasn't good enough for the U.S., but he was good enough for Canada, so now he's becoming a Canadian citizen. Good for him, and good for Canada, treating him right.

Pensioner, Washington, D.C.

I think of simplicity, naturalness, ruggedness. It's wholesome, unsophisticated, vigorous and beautiful.

Minister, Grand Rapids, Michigan

Canada is absolutely vital to this country. There is no nation in the world that can compare with Canada as a safe, reliable supply of needed resources. Political stability is there, the resources are there, the friendship is there, and the need for American dollars is there. It's all there.

Research assistant, oil company, New York, N.Y.

The preceding five quotations from "O-Oh Say, What They See" by Walter Stewart, *Weekend Magazine*.

---

* *imperatives — demands*

* *PQ — Parti Quebecois*

In preparing for this visit, I learned that we have some very serious and very intense competition with our friends from the North. Dr. George Gallup ran a poll recently. He asked the people who live in the United States to name their favourite nations. The United States got 95 percent. Canada got 91 percent.

So, I feel that I am in an intense and constant and very challenging competition with Pierre Trudeau for the hearts of my own people.

I think this does indicate the great compatibility and friendship and sense of warmth and mutual admiration that has always existed among American people toward Canada. We share a border that is more than 5200 miles long.

For 200 years our people have lived — with one very brief interval, around 1812 — in a spirit of friendship. That is important to us, even more than we think, in our daily lives. We are dependent on Canada for many things.

George Ball, Former U.S. Undersecretary For State. From "Scotland's Fate Canada's Lesson" by Hugh MacLennan, *Maclean's*, October 3, 1973

As so often happens when a country is divided internally, an overpowering urge develops to unite against a common enemy or what is perceived as one. For Canadians, the large, powerful and dynamic United States has always been a most appealing villain. It is close enough to put the smaller country in a permanent shadow, big enough to hit at will and too big to really feel the blows or become angry enough to hit back. . . . [Nevertheless] all but the most fanatical Canadian nationalists concede that their country's close relationship with the United States has, on the balance, been a very profitable one for Canada.

Richard Nixon (President, 1968–1974), 1972

The warmth of your hospitality symbolizes more than merely the courtesy which may be accorded to an individual visitor. They symbolize the enduring qualities of amity and honor which have characterized our countries' relations for so many decades.

Geography has made us neighbors. History has made us friends. Economics has made us partners. And necessity has made us allies. Those whom nature hath so joined together, let no man put asunder.

We are allies. This is a partnership, not an empire. We are bound to have differences and disappointments — and we are equally bound to bring them out into the open, to settle them where they can be settled, and to respect each other's views when they cannot be settled.

John F. Kennedy, (President, 1960-63), to the Canadian Parliament in Ottawa, May 17, 1961

Some Views From Canada

Canadians are determined that they will build something which is clearly their own, and not the pale and small image of the great and powerful civilization to our south.

Joe Greene, Former Cabinet Minister. From "Captain Canada of 1971", *Maclean's,* November 1970

The links between our countries are so numerous, the cooperation that we are involved in is so deep that this kind of meeting is as natural as it is friendly. As I look through the enormous briefing books that I had, sir, and I am sure it happened to you, too, I felt there is perhaps nothing our countries can do that doesn't involve one another. There are so many associations, so many committees, so many clubs, so many links between us of all kinds that I believe they are absolutely legion. I tried to get a count and I was told it wasn't possible. I can well understand it.

We have been such old friends and our links are so deep that this number of associations together can only rest on the deep friendship between our peoples.

Pierre Elliott Trudeau (Prime Minister, 1968-79), Feb. 21, 1977

I am an avowed Yankee-lover — and so quite out of tune with a current fashion in our land, which regards Americans as thick-skinned, selfish meddlers in Canadian affairs.

I like and respect the United States of America, and am glad it has involved itself so heavily in Canadian development, which has proceeded faster in the 25 years of U.S. involvement than it had when we had the help of others, or were going it alone.

I regard the U.S. presence as a fact of Canadian life, and a useful one, and I hope we can continue to use it as a natural advantage — a spur and not a drag. I believe millions of Canadians feel the same as I, though they are having trouble saying so, and I think most Americans probably think the same way about Canada (when they think about us at all). We are family, in the sense that it is in our best interest to help one another.

Charles Lynch, Chief of Southam News Service. From "We Really Love Uncle Sam. We Have To Love Him," *Canadian Magazine,* January 15, 1972

We believe that if we are to play any relevant part in the world community of the future, Canada must be united and independent. We believe: that foreign economic domination of this country has reached a totally unacceptable level; that economic domination leads inevitably to political and cultural domination; that Canada will become a stagnant economic backwater of the U.S. unless decisive action is taken.

Jack McClelland, Founding Chairman, Committee for an Independent Canada

The following is from a poll taken by a Canadian magazine in which people from coast to coast were asked their opinions on Canadian-American relations:

Should Canada have:	
Much closer economic ties with the U.S.	13%
Somewhat closer economic ties with the U.S.	21
No change from the present	15
Somewhat more economic independence from the U.S.	27
Much more economic independence from the U.S.	20
Did not state	4

The Weekend Poll, Weekend Magazine, February 4, 1978

There is no American attitude to Canada. Some Americans love us, some despise us, most view us with indifference. Sometimes, the indifference is tinged with contempt; more often, with warmth. Sometimes it contains neither heat nor cold, it is indifference pure and simple.

From "O-Oh, Say, What They See" by Walter Stewart, *Weekend Magazine,*

There are people in this country, unfortunately, who are still fighting the Battle of Lundy's Lane. There are some academics who are allowed on "View--point" on the CBC and given $75.00 as well, and on any night at all, they will tell you how we are in peril of being engulfed by the American monolith, how we are affected by American materialism and how in

due course, the barbarians are going to pitch their tents among us.

In a fairly long life I have had the privilege of speaking to American audiences in every state of the Union from Maine to California. I have been Ottawa correspondent for American newspapers. I have written for American periodicals. I have been on six Canada-U.S. delegations. I can say truthfully that I never once met an American of consequence who wanted to interfere with Canada's future.

From *Recollections of People, Press and Politics,* by Grattan O'Leary

Our problem is not to divorce the United States but how to live with it. . . . Our forefathers knew perfectly well that if we were going to be Canadians we had to find ways of living with that giant force to the south. They knew we had no right to expect the Americans to be our patrons or our benefactors. . . . We shall exist and prosper now and forever more by a combination of manipulation, confrontation, and more often, mutual accommodation. There is no solution to, no fixed formula for, the Canadian-American relationship.

From *Canada: A Middle-Aged Power* by John W. Holmes

QUESTIONS

1. Using the section entitled *Some Views from the U.S.A.,* draw up a chart showing the different views expressed about Canada. Put any views that seem similar together on your chart.
2. Of these views which ones do you find most alarming and which ones most reassuring? Explain why.
3. In the section *Some Views from Canada* Charles Lynch describes how he thinks "millions of Canadians" view the United States of America. Do the figures from the Weekend Poll back him up?
4. In his poem "Mending Wall" Robert Frost says, "Good fences make good neighbors." Look at the viewpoints in this section and decide which of them want "good fences" between Canada and its neighbour, the U.S.A., and which of them would like to tear the fences down.
5. Several of the views you have just read suggest that the comparative size and power of the U.S.A. and Canada create problems in their relationship. Find these viewpoints and draw up a chart that compares the two countries under such headings as population, area, gross national product and military strength.
6. What Are Neighbours For?

Nice Gifts From Us	**Nice Gifts From Them**
Basketball	Kentucky Fried Chicken
Nearly all their hockey players	Sesame Street
The telephone	The Mormon Tabernacle Choir
The paint roller	Monopoly
Insulin	The Fonz
Captain Kirk	MacDonald's

What other items can you think of to add to these lists? Also discuss which of these items are really "nice gifts."

7. "Canadians and Americans are very much the same. One way to tell a Canadian from an American is to tell the Canadian that."

Do you agree with the above statement? If it is true, why do Canadians react this way?

8. Here is a list of Canadian personalities who have achieved distinction in the United States. Find how each of these achieved "distinction." Add any other names which you think should be included in the list. Compose a similar list for individuals from the United States who have achieved distinction in Canada.

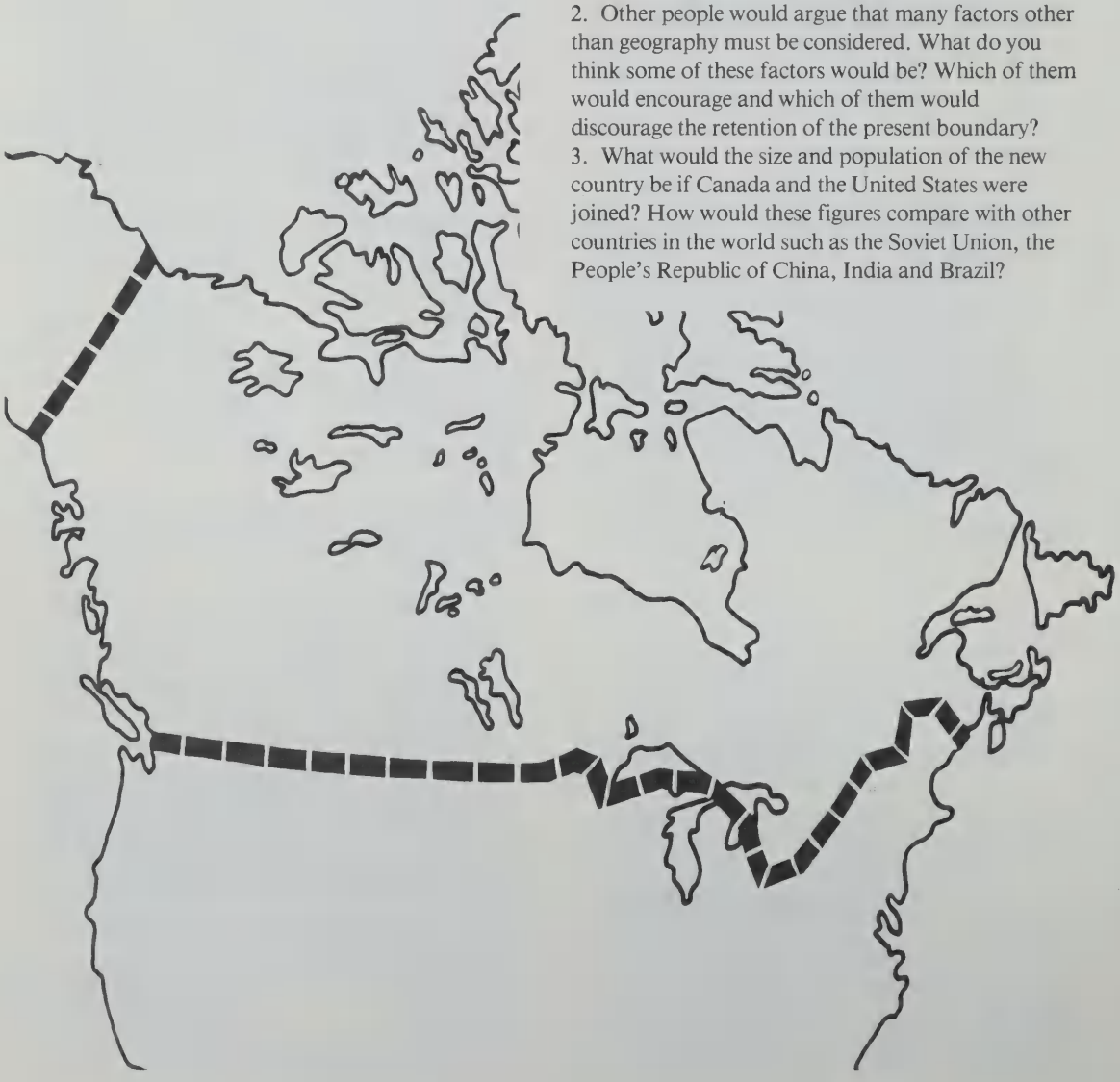
Sir Samuel Cunard	James Louis Kraft
Alexander Graham Bell	Arthur Hailey
Cyrus Eaton	John Kenneth Galbraith
Alfred Fuller	Raymond Burr
Donald Sutherland	Marshall McLuhan

Elizabeth Arden

2/The Geographic View

QUESTIONS

1. Some people have claimed that the boundary between Canada and the United States goes against the geography of North America. What reasons would these individuals use to justify their position?
2. Other people would argue that many factors other than geography must be considered. What do you think some of these factors would be? Which of them would encourage and which of them would discourage the retention of the present boundary?
3. What would the size and population of the new country be if Canada and the United States were joined? How would these figures compare with other countries in the world such as the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, India and Brazil?



3/Historical Perspectives

The following are some of the key dates and events in the history of the relationship between Canada and the U.S.A. in the twentieth century.

1903 Alaska Boundary Dispute
With the discovery of gold in 1898 in the Yukon, the question of the boundary between Alaska and Canada became a vital one. When the United States purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867 the boundary between the Alaska Panhandle and Canada was badly defined. Canada claimed that the boundary should run in such a way that Canadians would have access to the sea. The United States claim was designed to block any Canadian outlet to the sea through the entire Panhandle.
This argument was finally settled by a commission composed of three Americans, two Canadians and one Briton. They decided in favour of the boundary proposed by the United States and effectively blocked Canada from the sea. Canadians were furious at this decision. Perhaps they would have been angrier if they had known that President Teddy Roosevelt had let it be known to the British that if there wasn't a "favourable solution" American force would be used.

1909 International Joint Commission
This organization set up a permanent board made up of Canadians and Americans to control the use of all waterways shared by Canada and the United States. (This year also saw the solution to a long-standing dispute regarding Atlantic fisheries by the International Court at The Hague in the Netherlands.)

1922 Canada and United States Prohibition
The United States successfully pressed Canada to take internal measures that would make United States enforcement of prohibition laws easier and cheaper. These measures involved a "crack-down" on Canadians who were "rum-running" to the United States.

1933 Formation of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
This action brought into being a network of publicly owned radio stations. The Corporation was designed "to foster Canadian ideals and culture, encourage Canadian talent, and limit the number of American programs."

1940 Ogdensburg Agreement
During World War II both countries realized the need for a combined effort to defend North America. By the Ogdensburg Agreement a Permanent Joint Defence Board was set up. Under this board, defences were planned to stretch across the wastes of the Arctic. A highway was pushed from British Columbia, across the Yukon, to Alaska.

1941 Hyde Park Agreement
This agreement brought the economies of the two countries closer together. It provided for cooperation in the production of defence materials and the increased purchase of Canadian metals and strategic materials by the United States.

1951 The Massey Report
A commission was established on the state of the "Arts, Letters and Sciences." It was headed by Vincent Massey who would later be the first Canadian Governor General. The report of this commission led to the founding of the Canada Council. It was to be the job of this Council to develop a Canadian identity distinct from that of the United States so that "Canada would not be swamped by the influence of her neighbour to the south."

1954 The St. Lawrence Seaway
President Eisenhower signed the necessary legislation for the United States to join Canada in this large undertaking. When the seaway was completed in 1959 it extended from Montreal to Lake Erie. Direct ocean trade could now take place with the great lake ports of Canada and the United States.

1958 NORAD (the North American Air Defence Command)
Closer military cooperation between the two countries came about as the result of the formation of a joint United States/Canadian command for the defence of North America. The agreement made provision for an American Supreme Commander and a Canadian Deputy Commander, with headquarters located at Colorado Springs, Colorado.

1961 O'Leary Commission
This commission, headed by Grattan O'Leary, was appointed when one of Canada's few remaining magazines seemed on the verge of collapse. One recommendation was that "Canadian editions" of foreign magazines be put out of business. These were magazines whose editorial material was completely or almost completely imported and which, because of cheaper costs, could offer more attractive rates to Canadian advertisers. When legislation was finally passed, the Canadian editions of existing magazines like *Time* and *Reader's Digest* were allowed to remain on the market but future magazines of similar form were to be restricted.

1961 The Columbia River Treaty
This treaty ensured the cooperation of Canada and the United States in the development of this river that runs through the Far West of both countries. The treaty projected the construction of three dams in Canada, and a fourth was added at the last minute. These dams would store water to power the generators of the Grand Coulee Dam in Washington. One of these dams would also provide generating power for Canada. By the treaty Canada was also guaranteed power from the United States.

1962 The Auto Pact
The flow of automotive products both ways across the border constitutes the largest area of trade between the two countries. This pact removed duties on trade in motor vehicles and original equipment parts. The agreement has provided a broader market for automotive products for both countries and at the same time has made the Canadian and American automobile industries more interdependent.

The 70's and Beyond
In this decade a number of trends and problems from previous years continued to mark relations between the two countries. In economic relations there were again tensions. Canada found itself caught in an economic squeeze as a result of the policies of President Nixon. Mr. Nixon applied certain regulations to business and trade which drastically affected Canada. Canada, on the other hand, created a Foreign Investment Review Agency that was given power to examine and, if necessary, disallow business mergers involving the sale of Canadian business to

American interests. The majority of Canadians approved. Some went beyond this to suggest that Canada should buy back majority control of all United States companies in Canada.

In the early 1970's Canada extended its territorial waters from three miles to twelve. It also increased its fisheries' limits to two hundred miles and created a pollution prevention zone of one hundred miles in the Arctic. These actions led to general disagreement with the U.S.A. on the extent of boundary waters as well as to specific disputes over particular fishing areas.

The decade was also marked by extensive and difficult negotiations on energy and, connected to this, the construction of a pipeline. Concepts such as continental energy and national needs were discussed and debated. Sales of both oil and natural gas to the United States were curtailed. Agreement was finally reached on the construction of a pipeline. Canadians continued, in the 70's, to express fears for the growth and even survival of a distinctive Canadian culture. Regulations were passed to govern the content of both television and radio broadcasting, requiring that 30 percent of the content be Canadian, and ensuring that those Canadian advertisers who used American border stations would no longer be able to claim this cost as a business expense. From this point on it became necessary to advertise on Canadian stations in order to gain this tax deduction. Legislation passed in Ottawa brought about the end of the Canadian edition of *Time* and the sale of *TV Guide* to Canadian interests. At the close of the decade people in the two countries could look at many problems discussed, some problems solved, and those problems that will remain issues in the 1980's.

QUESTIONS

1. (a) Prepare a map of the Alaska Panhandle showing where each country suggested the boundary should run. On the same map indicate the final boundary decision of the Commission.

(b) Imagine that you are a newspaper editor in Canada or the United States in 1903. Write an editorial in which you evaluate the decision that was made. Be sure you deal with the roles of Britain and the American President in the affair as well as with the claims themselves.

2. Throughout the twentieth century a continuing fear on the part of Canadian governments is evident. Can you see what this fear is? Discuss this question and then explain how Canadians have attempted to deal with it.

3. In an earlier section of this book you read this passage from a speech of President Kennedy: "Geography has made us neighbors. History has made us friends. Economics has made us partners. And necessity has made us allies."

How do the events of the twentieth century prove or disprove this contention?

4. Look ahead to the future. What issues do you think will become the most significant in Canada/U.S. relations during the next few years? Explain which of these issues you think will be most important to Canada and which will be most important to the United States.

4/Looking into the Future

What will Canada be like, ten or twenty-five years from now? Will Canada and the United States ever go to war? Can Canada survive without the United States? The following excerpts and articles are "scenarios" of what the future might be like. In each case the writer has taken an existing situation and tried to imagine what its logical conclusion might be.

As you read these use your own imagination to think of other possible scenarios for the future of Canada.

Scenario No. 1

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Governor of the Great State of Canada

The Time: somewhere in the not-too-distant future.
The Place: Ottawa (or Ottawashington, as some call it).
The occasion: celebration of Canadian statehood.
The Speaker: the Governor of the Great State of Canada.

It gives me great pleasure to be with you today in joint observance of this glorious holiday. A holiday, I might add, that shows our pride in our heritage. As you know, last year by an act of our legislature — and it is with pride I say *our* legislature — the first Monday in July is marked as Canada Day, a day which everyone in this great state may be proud of. Proud because this is a decision we took ourselves. And it is this decision that I feel sure marks us Canadians as a state not like the others.

But it is not our decisiveness alone that marks us. Oh, no. We are second in population only to California, and perhaps New York. (I fear I forgot about New York there.) We are larger than Alaska. Larger than Texas and Alaska put together. We are rich in resources. So rich that we happily share with our fellows. We are the playground of these glorious 51 states. Our fellow Americans flock here to see the famous Calgary Stampede, the Canadian State Fair, the changing of the state police at our magnificent legislature in Ottawa. And many love to visit the quaint little city of Quebec where some of the ancient traditions and the . . . er, French language have been so carefully preserved.

Our culture is wedded to that of our fellow states. Do we not speak the same tongue, have the same interests, share the same goals, watch the same TV programs? I urge you, in your pride, remember our great traditions.

But enough. Let us close this speech with our national anthem. Fellow Canadians, I ask you to join me:

"Oh, say can you see. . ."

Paul Rush, *Weekend Magazine,* June 27, 1970

Scenario No. 2

On Monday morning, October 6, 1980, the president of the United States — a tough Texan fighting for re-election the next month — telephoned the new prime minister of Canada, Robert Porter, to deliver a harsh, unexpected set of demands for access to Canada's Arctic natural gas.

The conclusion of their one- sided conversation had led to the president's ultimatum:

". . . that Canada will grant the United States full access to all the natural gas in the Arctic islands without reference to Canada's future needs" and "a commitment that the US will be allowed to create the transportation system . . . to include free access to the islands across any Canadian territory. . ."

By 5 PM on the second day of the ultimatum period, Parliament had rejected the demands and had passed a conciliatory resolution proposing a new round of negotiations to provide the US with immediate additional supplies of natural gas.

The president's reaction was swift. At 6: 30 PM that day, October 7, 1980, he told a world-wide television audience: "As of this moment Canada will become part of the United States of America. The government of Canada is hereby dissolved. The provinces will become full member states of the Union. To ensure that this transfer of power takes place smoothly and without incident, transport aircraft of the United States Air Force carrying troops and equipment are now landing at airports in all major Canadian cities. The citizens of Canada are now citizens of the finest, greatest nation in the world. . ."

Listening with the Governor-General, Prime Minister Porter leaped to his feet saying: "Sir, there is no way we're going to surrender! This is exactly what we expected them to do if they were going to do anything military. I haven't told you this but we're ready for them."

He walked quickly to the ringing telephone. At the other end was the Chief of the Defence Staff, General Adamson.

"Sir, the Americans are committed to land. Their leaders are on their final landing approaches right across the country — Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, Edmonton, Halifax — the whole bit."

The PM's response was instant.

"OK general, Operation Reception Party is GO!"

The atmosphere in the White House was tense. The president, white hair dishevelled, suit-coat off, tie unloosened, sat at his desk. By twelve minutes after seven he knew that Operation Northland had failed, that the Canadians had been totally misjudged and that all 528 Galaxies, Starlifters and Hercules and the 7500 men aboard this armada were at that moment trapped in their aircraft on airfields all across Canada.

"How in God's name could you have misread the situation so badly?" he raged at his staff. "Do you realize we'll be the laughing stock of the whole world?

"And what of our troops moving across the border into the Canadian west? I know what's going to happen to them and I know what's going to happen to us. The Canadians are going to stop us cold. Not by troops, not by weapons, but by the prime minister calling me on that phone, that red phone right there, look at it, it's right there! He's going to call me and he's going to say, if your tanks, armoured vehicles, what have you, go beyond point X, you can kiss your troops sitting in their metal capsules at airports all across Canada GOODBYE!"

Suddenly the red telephone rang. It rang again. The president slowly picked it up.

From *Exxoneration,* by Richard Rohmer

Scenario No. 3

The Great Canadian Novel #6: The Maple Leaf Forever

The novel takes place in the near future. Our nation is torn apart by two factions: those who would see our interests sold out to the insidious needs of giant U.S. corporations; and those who would see our country remain one sovereign state . . . from the Atlantic to the Pacific . . . from a hundred miles off the Arctic shores to the Great Lakes and Manitoulin Island.

For the moment, the crisis has temporarily healed deep rifts between French and English, East and West, and NABET technicians and the CBC.

As the novel begins, Canada has been forced to cede the province of Alberta, with her oil and tar sands, to U.S. interests. Canada's ageing prime minister, a former international playboy, had no choice. For, if he didn't hand over Alberta, the largest hamburger drive-in chain in the nation, with its offices located on Wall Street (where else?), had threatened to pull its "stakes" (no pun intended) out of Canada. Without these drive-ins, millions of car-driving Canadians would starve to death. Urged by monied pro U.S. factions at home, the prime minister handed over Alberta, oily gem of the prairies. Where would it all end? Some suggested with the ceding of Quebec. But wiser men knew U.S. corporations would never accept.

The anger of the Canadian nationalists is quick and effective. Demonstrations by white-shirted rowdies topple the government. A young premier from the Maritimes narrowly squeezes into office. U.S. corporate businesses are new to him, none ever having located in his province. His task: to bring Alberta back into Confederation, to appease strong U.S. factions in Ottawa, and to rescue further slices of Canadian life going south of the border, such as the NHL, Anne Murray, the economy, etc.

From *Peter Gzowski's Book about This Country in The Morning*

Scenario No. 4

A Military Plan to Invade the United States/Defence Scheme #1

VERY SECRET

Only such parts as are necessary will be communicated, either verbally or by very secret letter, to the members of your Staff and Heads of Services and Departments, that are necessary to help you mature your plans.

THE FIRST THING APPARENT THEN IN THE DEFENCE OF CANADA IS THAT WE LACK DEPTH.

Pacific Command. The field troops of Pacific Command to advance into and occupy the strategic points including Spokane, Seattle, and Portland, Oregon, bounded by the Columbia River. . . .

Prairie Command. . . . should converge towards Fargo in North Dakota . . . and then continue a general advance in the direction of Minneapolis and St. Paul. . . .

Great Lakes Command. . . . will, generally speaking, remain on the defensive, but rapid and well organized raids should be made across the Niagara Frontier, the St. Clair Frontier, the Detroit Frontier and the St. Mary's Frontier, with sufficient troops to establish bridgeheads. . . .

Quebec Command. . . . will take the offensive on both sides of the Adirondack Mountains with a view of converging . . . in the vicinity of Albany, N.Y. . . .

Maritime Command. . . . will make an offensive into the State of Maine. . . .

Sutherland Brown had no illusions that the Canadians could sweep down through the United States, gaining heroic victories and even re-enacting the burning of Washington. Instead he favoured a limited offensive which would tie up American forces at several places along the border, diverting them from any concerted drive into the Toronto-Montreal-Ottawa heartland. He hoped that such spirited action would convince the Americans that the conquest of Canada would once again prove too difficult. If not, it would buy time until the British could join the action.

From *Six Journeys: A Canadian Pattern* by Charles Taylor

QUESTIONS

1. Which one of the previous scenarios did you find most realistic and which one was most unrealistic?
2. What present trends do you think the writer who made Canada the fifty-first state saw as the basis for his article?
3. In the excerpts from *Exxoneration* by Richard Rohmer the U.S.A. is in the process of invading Canada. Write an introduction to this story in which you explain why this invasion took place. (To find out Rohmer's answer to this question, you can read his book *Ultimatum*.)
4. In 1975 a defence department spokesman made the following statement: "I can categorically assure you that we have never had any plans to invade the U.S." In spite of the evidence that such a plan did exist (p. 14), why would the defence department make the above statement?
5. *Parliament Hill had rarely seen a day like this. Early in the morning the crowds had gathered, each individual hoping to find a spot to see "history" being made.*

Members arriving individually or in groups made their way through the crowd on a path cleared by the RCMP. Each would have several hours to be alone with his or her thoughts until the Commons convened.

Using the preceding paragraphs as a beginning, create your own scenario expressing your view of the future of Canada.

5/Canadian-American Relations

In this next section we will look at five different aspects of Canadian-American relations: the sea, trade, defence, energy and culture. Each of these areas has its own special problems. We will look at five Case Studies, one in each of these areas. After each Case Study you will find questions that will help you see how that particular Case Study fits into the general pattern of Canadian-U.S. relations.

Several factors persuaded the government of Canada that certain actions had to be taken with regard to our coastal waters. With the increasing movement of oil tankers, particularly the new supertankers, oil spills have become major disasters, destroying marine life and devastating coastlines of natural beauty. As well, Canadian fishermen claim that their livelihood is threatened by the foreign fishing fleets that scour the oceans so efficiently.

Based on these factors Canada adopted the following policies:

1970 —Twelve Mile Territorial Sea:
Extended from three miles to twelve miles the ocean over which Canada claims ownership.

1970 —Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention:
Gave Canada the power to enforce anti-pollution shipping standards and levy fines of up to $100 000 a day and/or seize ships in the Arctic.

1977 —Fisheries Limits (as of Jan. 1):
Extended Canada's fishing jurisdiction* on Atlantic and Pacific coasts to a limit of two hundred miles.

1977 —Fisheries Limits (as of March 1):
Extended Canada's fishing jurisdiction in the Arctic to a limit of two hundred miles.

All of the above policies were unilateral actions by the Canadian government — decisions made without consulting any other country. One of the countries most affected by these declarations was the United States. Here are a number of reactions from that country to Canada's actions.

> International law provides no basis for these proposed unilateral extensions of jurisdictions on the high seas, and the United States can neither accept nor acquiesce in the assertion of . . . jurisdiction . . . [which is] invalid according to international law.

The United States Dept. of State

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* *Canada's fishing jurisdiction — Canada's right to control fishing within the area.*

This is something that has all the seeds of a big fight.

Warren Unna, T.V. Newsman, Washington D.C.

Strategically, the Arctic is of great importance . . . vast quantities of natural resources await us.

Freedom of the seas must be maintained to protect the United States from attack, to sustain our allies, to protect our military power by sea when necessary and to protect ocean commerce.

National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Developments (U.S. Agency)

Canada's Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau is big-mouthing about extending Canadian jurisdiction 100 miles northward in the Arctic Ocean for pollution-control purposes.

We're anti-pollutant as anybody, but we think that in this case lucky (up to now) Pierre is mainly intent on snooting Uncle Sam for the Canadian home folks' edification.

If our guess is correct, how about Washington leaning politely but heavily on Pierre until he drops this non-sense? He's been asking for such treatment for quite some while.

An editorial, New York *Daily News,* quoted in the Toronto *Globe and Mail,* April 18, 1970

QUESTIONS

1. To say that a country acts unilaterally means that it adopts a certain position without consulting anyone else. Canada acted unilaterally in extending its coastal limits.

What obligation do other countries have to accept such unilateral decisions? Can you think why a number of countries might agree to these new regulations?

2. Was Canada justified in taking these actions?
3. If the United States disagrees with the actions taken by Canada, what actions can it take to force Canada to change these policies or at least to discuss them?
4. Under what conditions would you as a Canadian politician agree to allowing the International Court to decide on the legality of one of your country's laws? Use the question of coastal waters as the basis of your answer, but remember that the reasons you give should also be good enough to deal with other situations as well.
5. Divide the class into one group representing Canada's point of view, one group representing the United States, and one group acting as a panel of international judges. After each side has presented its case, the judges will hand down their ruling.
6. A continuing area of discussion between the Canadian federal government and a number of provincial governments involves control of fisheries and coastal waters. Traditionally this control has been in federal hands. What problems might arise if it were left to individual provinces to negotiate with the U.S.A. in this area? What advantages would there be to provincial control?

Case Study no. 2 — Trade

"Seven days in August in which Richard Nixon taught us two words — *surcharge* and *please*."

Walter Stewart

In August of 1972 President Nixon decided that action must be taken to remedy economic problems in the United States. Among the remedies he chose to apply were a ninety day freeze on wages and prices, a ban on converting dollars into gold and a 10% surcharge* on foreign goods entering the American market.

Canadian officials were given no advance warning of the action to be taken; they first learned of it from President Nixon's speech to the American people. After further study of the new policy, experts in Ottawa decided that $2.8 billion of Canadian trade would be affected. They also suggested that the 10% rise in the price of Canadian goods in the United States would cause a drastic loss of sales. They estimated 90 000 jobs would disappear here in Canada.

In the months that followed this confrontation, the Canadian government made changes in our policies to suit the United States. On the other side, United States officials decided that many Canadian policies were not harmful to the United States' economy and changes were made in their policies to exempt Canada from the new regulations and give us a special position.

These decisions brought this particular crisis to a close. However, the basic problem remains. Allan MacEachen, a former Secretary of State for External Affairs, summarized this problem in a speech he delivered in January 1975.

Some basic facts (and I shall not go beyond basic facts) of our situation reveal the magnitude of the problem for us. Canada/United States bilateral* trade *per annum* amounts to about $40 billion. The United States provides the market for 67 per cent of our exports and supplies 69 per cent of our imports. Canada takes 21 per cent of United States exports and supplies 25 per cent of United States imports. The United States market absorbs up to 35 per cent of all the goods produced in Canada. In contrast, Canada buys less than 2 per cent of all goods produced in the United States.

QUESTIONS

1. What do you think Walter Stewart meant when he said Mr. Nixon taught Canadians the word "please"?
2. What important lessons should Canadians have learned from this incident?
3. What tactics do you think Canada could have adopted to deal with Mr. Nixon's actions? What reasons could Canada give to persuade the U.S.A. not to treat us in the same way as the rest of its trading partners?
4. How effectively did the leaders of the two nations look after their own people's interests? And how much concern did they show for the interests of their neighbours?
5. (a) Imagine that as a Canadian citizen at this time, you wished to express your personal opinion to President Nixon. Write a letter to him.

   (b) Exchange your letter with another student in the class. Each of you should now write a realistic reply from the White House.

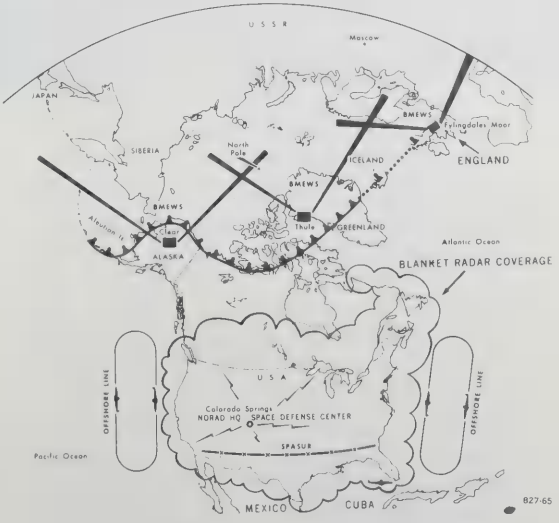
** Surcharge — an additional amount added to usual charges*

** Bilateral — both sides, as opposed to "unilateral"*

Case Study no. 3 — Defence

In the years following the end of World War II a new kind of war developed: the "cold war." Countries divided behind the two super-powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, in this war, but it was not a war involving military force. It involved propaganda, economic competition, military alliances and espionage.* This war was "fought" for the allegiance, the support, friendship and trade, of the newly emerging nations of Africa and Asia.

Canada, of course, was part of this cold war. One part of Canada's role was an increasing partnership with the United States in the defence of North America. This process started in 1940 with the formation of the Permanent Joint Board on Defense to "consider in the broad sense the defense of the northern half of the western hemisphere" and continued with the construction of a "distant early warning" system (the DEW line) in 1955. Then in 1958 (May 12) the Canadian and American governments signed the North American Air Defense (NORAD) pact.



Following are a number of diagrams and articles that describe the military preparations of NORAD and its role in the defence of North America. The first of these articles is abridged from The Spectator. *It describes the NORAD command centre at Colorado Springs, Colorado.*

WARNING WEB — These are the lacings of the electronic network covering aerospace approaches to North America. All are tied to the North American Air Defence Command's underground combat operations center at Colorado Springs, Colorado. At three sites near the top of the world, high-powered radar antennas of the Ballistic Missile Early Warning System reach out 3000 miles to give the alert of an intercontinental ballistic missile attack.

Against the manned bomber threat, NORAD employs the Distant Early Warning Line extending across the top of the continent and a system of radars blanketing the populated areas of Canada and the United States. Off both coasts, early warning aircraft extend radar coverage far out to sea. Between Florida and Cuba, other aircraft bolster ground-based radars. Stretched across the southern U.S. is the U.S. Naval Space Surveillance System, one of the satellite detection and tracking nets reporting data on earth-orbiting space objects to NORAD's Space Defense Center.

"Ringmaster to Looking Glass, how do you receive? Over."

"Receive you loud and clear, Ringmaster." The reply is crisp and startlingly immediate.

It is a routine communications check between two war command posts, one buried deep inside a mountain, the other constantly airborne high above the central United States.

"Ringmaster" is the command post for NORAD, the Canada-U.S. North American Air Defence command whose headquarters occupies 4-1/2 acres gouged out of the solid granite of Cheyenne Mountain overlooking Colorado Springs.

* *Espionage — spying*

"Looking Glass" is a KC-135 aircraft, a converted Boeing 707, which serves as back-up command post for the U.S. Strategic Air Command. If SAC headquarters at Omaha, Nebraska, were knocked out in a missile attack, battle commanders aboard "Looking Glass" would immediately take charge of the situation.

In these days when talk even of "cold war" seems out of fashion, when Russia and the U.S. are discussing arms limitation, North America's defence machine remains oiled and instantly ready.

For the last 10 years, hollowed-out Cheyenne Mountain, in the front range of the Rockies, has shielded the cornerstone of North America's air defence.

A mile-long tunnel horseshoes clear through the mountain, the rock walls pinned in place by steel bolts, some driven 32 feet back into the mountain.

Half-way along, a giant, 25-foot steel door swings open. Fifty feet inside another, identical door closes. Time locks ensure that the doors are never open at the same time. It's just one of a battery of security devices.

Behind the doors lies the headquarters section, a village of 11 mostly three-storey steel structures, windowless, painted cream-yellow. Each is free-standing, mounted on rows of massive coiled springs, each weighing 1000 pounds.

The springs would cushion the buildings, their 16 computers and other delicate electronics gear — and the people who operate it — against the shock of earthquake or nuclear bombardments.

Food stocks for the 1800 staff of NORAD headquarters would last at least 30 days. The air is filtered. Four reservoirs in the mountain hold a total of six million gallons of water.

Finally, through a door with a push-button combination lock, into the very heart of the complex, the combat operations centre or war room. Here, in time of war, would gather the air defence chiefs. Centre seat in the second of the room's three tiers is reserved for the NORAD commander-in-chief, U.S. Air Force Gen. Seth J. McKee. Beside him would sit Canadian Forces Lt.- Gen. Edwin M. Reyno, deputy commander-in-chief.

Deep underground in the NORAD Combat Operations Centre, battle staff members can take an electronic look at the sky and space approaches to North America.

On the wall opposite, a 16- by- 12-foot screen to display a map of North America — or any other selected area — would show the threat: Incoming missiles, bombers perhaps — a series of blips moving fast as tracking from more than 120 radar sites is piped into NORAD's space defence centre.

The generals and their battle staff would have 15 minutes to assess the attack, alert the interceptor forces and warn the continent.

From Reuter and the *Hamilton Spectator,* November 25, 1971

Our second extract, from "U.S.A. and Us," gives more details of Canada's contribution to NORAD.

Canadian Forces personnel man 24 radar stations across central Canada known as the Pinetree System. In conjunction with U.S. forces, they also operate Canadian stations on the Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line which runs roughly along the 70th parallel from Alaska to Greenland. Fighter squadrons are based at Comox, B.C., Cold Lake, Alta., Bagotville, Que., and Chatham, N.B.

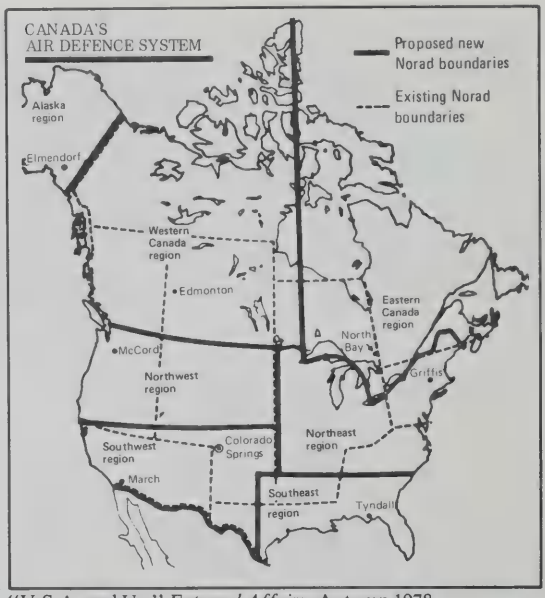
Under discussion is a proposal to redefine NORAD boundaries as indicated on the map. When the new regions are formed, in about 1982, two will be in Canada, five in the U.S.A., including one in Alaska. Regional Operations Control Centres for Canada will be North Bay and Edmonton, giving Canada complete control of its own airspace. North Bay will provide an alternative headquarters to Colorado Springs, as it does now.

At sea, joint maritime exercises are carried out by ships and aircraft of the two navies off the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. Canadian maritime forces provide surveillance in their own areas, monitoring potentially hostile marine operations, including nuclear submarines, primarily as part of their NATO commitments. On land, Mobile Command units exercise jointly with the U.S. Army.

Other activities involving the armed forces of both countries include search and rescue operations, weather forecasting, and civil emergency planning.

While each country has primary responsibility for control of its own territory, adjacent ocean areas and airspace, each is also prepared to co-operate with the other in the joint defence of the continent.

From "U.S.A. and Us." *External Affairs,* 1978



"U.S.A. and Us." *External Affairs,* Autumn 1978

Two Military Policemen secure the massive door to the entrance of the underground facilities of NORAD at North Bay, Ont.

Case Study no. 4 — Energy

QUESTIONS

1. The NORAD agreement was concluded in 1958. What changes in weapons and strategy have taken place since that time?
2. Here are three issues connected with the role of Canada in NORAD and the defence of North America. Divide the class into groups or commissions to consider the report on each of these.

(a) Former Prime Minister Pearson once described NORAD in these terms: "America will have its finger on the trigger, Canada will have its finger on the safety catch." Using this quote as a starting point consider and make recommendations on maintaining or changing Canada's role within NORAD.

(b) In his book *Canada: Peace Maker or Powder-Monkey?* James Minifie suggests that Canada should withdraw from NORAD. He suggests that Canada can play a much more effective role in the world if it is neutral than if it is tied militarily to the U.S.A. There are good arguments for and against his opinion. Divide your class into two groups and list some arguments for Canada staying in NORAD, and some for leaving it.

(c) Using the points that came up in question 2(b), plan Canada's defence as if Canada had withdrawn from NORAD.

3. Look at the new boundaries proposed for NORAD in the map on page 22. In your opinion, how do these changes affect Canada's responsibilities and influence within NORAD?
4. Canada is committed militarily in other parts of the world as well. Find out where these commitments are, and the nature of each one. Do you think any of these commitments clash with Canada's commitment to NORAD?

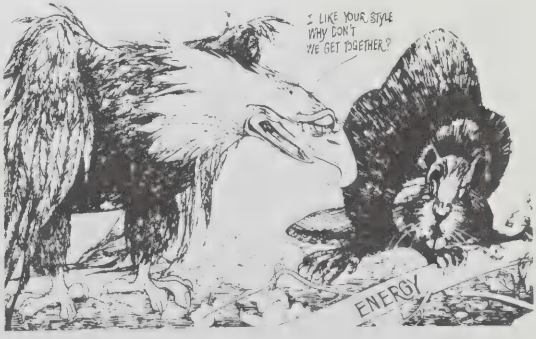
Through the years the United States has considered Canada its most reliable source of imported oil and gas. Several developments over the last few years have caused both countries to reconsider traditional patterns of trade in energy.

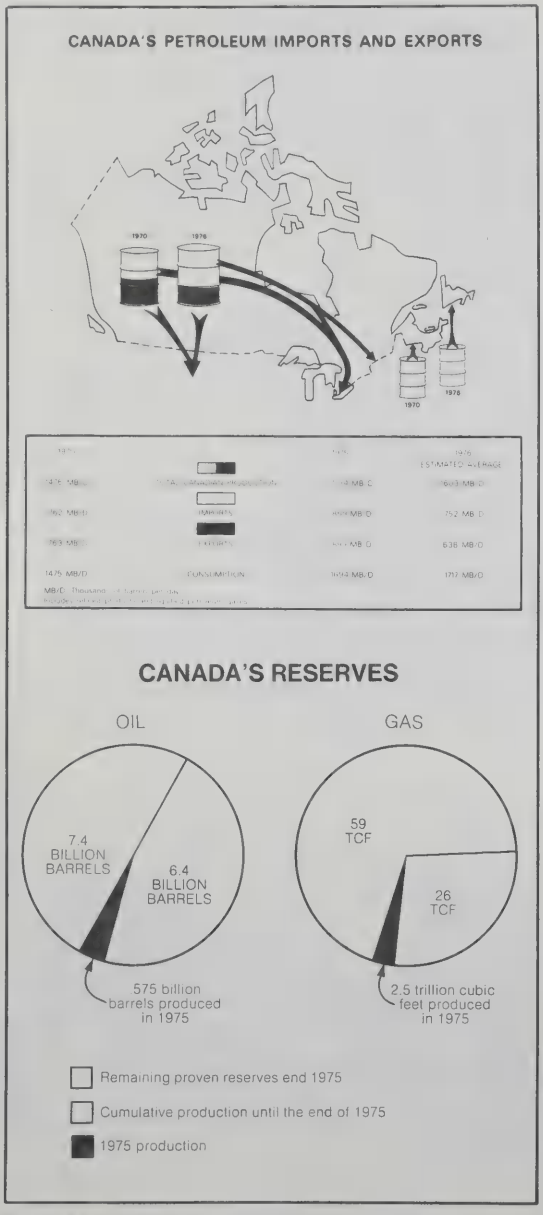
The action of the world's oil-producing countries in increasing the price of oil a few years ago came as a shock to many consumers. But more than this, the ability of these countries to cripple or even halt the industry of major powers reminded leaders of the crucial nature of this commodity.

As prices of oil and gas rose dramatically, Canadians quickly realized these facts and began to question how secure we were with so much of our energy supply under foreign control.

Canadian officials began to rethink our "common energy policy" with the U.S.A. and started to think of "Canadian" needs. How could Canada hope to export energy when we may not have enough to fill our own needs in the future? This attitude was reinforced by the declining energy reserves in Canada and the ever-increasing demands of the United States.

On the following pages you will be asked to consider the new Canadian energy policy and to judge whether or not it meets the needs of our changing times.





Energy Update 1976, Report EL 77- 2, Energy, Mines and Resources

The Problem

The most immediate challenge facing North Americans today is not starvation, or pollution, or social unrest; it is that our demands for energy have been doubling every 10 years, that most energy is made from petroleum and that the United States has used up half of all its crude oil and much of its natural gas. This does not necessarily mean disaster, but it certainly requires change.

From "Selling Today What We'll Need Tomorrow" by Tuzo Wilson, *Maclean's,* March 1973

We have in Canada enough fossil fuels to last us more than 100 years. There is no shortage of fossil fuels here although there most certainly is a shortage of oil south of the border. Canada's crisis lies in our failure to develop transmission and refining facilities sufficient to get our vast reserves of oil and natural gas to market, particularly our own market, in usable form. It is the Americans who have the energy crisis, and they are depending on us to help them weather it, and to do so without thought for our own needs.

We can't save the Americans from their energy crisis, nor can we even help them very much. We're just not in the same league. Our entire production of conventional crude oil, including all our known or proven western reserves (which stand at roughly nine billion barrels) would quench the American thirst for oil for 20 months at best.

From "The Cold Facts" by John Aitken, *Maclean's,* February 1974

Some Viewpoints:

In this next extract, Pierre Trudeau was asked if he thought it was right for Canada to share our resources with the U.S.A. as President Nixon was suggesting at the time. This was his reply.

I think that our resources are there to be used; to be used for the benefit of Canadians first, and to be used for the benefit of all mankind. I think that many of our

resources, if we don't use them now, won't be usable later. Falling water, once it has fallen, doesn't fall again — if you don't tap it then, you don't use it, it goes into the sea, it has not produced its electrical powers. So I think there's some danger of being too possessive of things . . . And if we weren't to use our natural resources which are usable now, we might end up in a period where we have no great use for oil and gas, because we would be using other more economic and more efficient forms of energy, and then it won't have done us much to have sat on this. So, each country, each government, must assess the technology, must assess its reserves, must assess the length of time in which it thinks a particular reserve can be usable, and make its decisions on that basis.

Prime Minister Trudeau, February 24, 1970

The continued assurance of a supply of clean energy at a reasonable cost is fundamental to the ambitions that the federal government has for all Canadians.

Whatever the national goals may be — higher and more fairly distributed standards of living, better transportation, more effective communications, or any number of other aims — it is essential to have power available to attempt to achieve these ends. We do not develop energy sources for themselves, but for the simple fact that we cannot realize our other hopes without them.

Donald MacDonald, Former Minister of Energy, Mines, and Resources

Can the two nations which share the major portion of North America afford to pursue uncoordinated and uncooperative policies, even when it is clearly costly to each? How many billions of dollars in additional energy investments are we prepared to make for the sake of following completely independent courses? On top of already skyrocketing energy costs, what additional premium are we prepared to pay for our individual fuel costs? Can we tolerate delays and bottlenecks that will compound present shortages or create future shortages? A basic question is whether unrelated policies to achieve energy self-sufficiency would work in the economic interests of both nations. After spending four years and $50 million, our conclusion is that they would not.

W.P. Wilder, Chairman, Canadian Arctic Gas Study Ltd.

Build more pipelines to export more oil and gas now? Tell it to your children! Or, better, ask them what they think of a Canada that gives away its gifts of energy for a mess of promises about fast-breeder reactors and solar-system breakthroughs. At least, if they are brought into the decision-making process now, we might be spared the bitterness of their recriminations as they survey a Canada immensely poorer than it is at the present moment.

Eric Kierans, Professor of Economics, McGill University

The preceding three quotations from "The Cold Facts" by John Aitken, *Maclean's*, February 1974.

A major aspect of the federal government's energy policy under Pierre Trudeau was the formation, in 1975, of Petro-Canada. This government-owned oil company became active in the search for new energy sources. In 1979 it was involved, along with a number of privately owned companies, in the discovery of natural gas at Whitefish in the Arctic Circle. Just prior to the election of 1979 the government announced plans to expand Petro-Canada's role as a direct importer of foreign oil.

That Petro-Canada might assume this role became a possibility when Canadians became aware that Exxon, a U.S. oil firm, was acting as a "middleman" for Imperial Oil of Canada. Oil from Venezuela was being bought by Exxon who then sold it to Imperial Oil. But in the early months of 1979 the U.S.A. was struck by a major oil shortage and part of the supply of oil supposed to go to Canada was diverted by Exxon to the U.S.A. When a Canadian government request to Imperial Oil to buy oil *directly* from Venezuela was rejected by the company, the Canadian government announced that Petro-Canada would do this.

However, in the election of 1979 the existence of Petro-Canada became a major issue. Joe Clark and the Progressive Conservatives announced that if they became the next government of Canada they would disband Petro-Canada as part of a reduction of the size of government and government spending.

QUESTIONS

1. Explain why Canada has had to both export and import oil. During the last few years this arrangement has become increasingly unsatisfactory. Why?
2. (a) "Canadian energy consumption per person is about twice that of many industrialized countries." Why do you think this is the case?

(b) Prepare a pamphlet that could be sent to Canadians suggesting ways they might save energy.
3. Prepare a list, in order of importance, of the oil-producing countries of the world. Find out where both Canada and the United States buy oil. Of these sources which would you term the "most safe and secure"?
4. (a) Put yourself in the place of a United States official. Your job is to prepare a paper to convince Canadian officials that the two countries should develop a "common energy policy" to use the resources of North America.

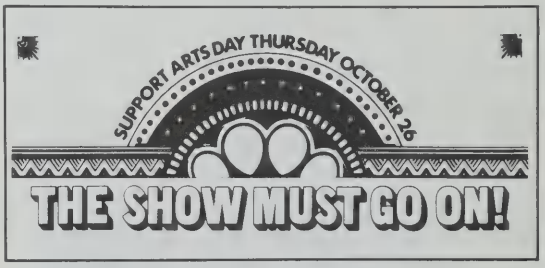
(b) Exchange these papers within the class and let other students prepare replies from the Canadian point of view.
5. What alternate sources of energy might Canadians be using in the future? Investigate to what degree these alternate sources are presently being developed and used.
6. (a) Why would Imperial Oil of Canada work through an American company?

(b) What kinds of difficulties could this arrangement cause for Canadians?

(c) What has happened to Petro-Canada since Joe Clark became Prime Minister?

The following is a statement from a group of Canadian artists issued to our country on October 26, 1978. It was originally a reaction to announcements by the federal government that grants to the arts were to be restricted.

However, this appeal draws our attention to the fact that the arts in Canada seem to be threatened by a flood of United States culture.



A STATEMENT OF CONCERN

The future of Canada is still open. It will be what we make it. It will be determined in large measure by the books we read, the television we watch, the theatre and concerts we attend, the art we look at, the movies we go to, the records and radio stations we listen to.

We can make it a special country, a country like no other. Or we can let it drift off into the shadows of some other country, where it will be hard to identify, or even to find. Our land, our climate, our history, our work, our business life, our sports — and our arts — all help to make us the people we are and to give us our diverse culture. For most of us, Canada is the unknown country — still.

— Canadians spend nearly 60% of their television viewing hours watching foreign programming — mainly American. Our children watch 70%.
— Canadian authored books account for less than 15% of total book sales in Canada.

— Only 1 out of every 10 magazines sold in Canada is Canadian.
— Less than 6% of the movies we go to see are our own.
— Only 4% of the total sales of records in Canada have Canadian content.

Disturbing statistics. And yet this marginal Canadian presence in our own market place of the products of our artists represents a dramatic improvement over ten years ago. This growth has been one of quality, quantity and public acceptance. We are just beginning to see the results of years of dedication by Canada's creators and interpreters and our country's investment in them.

That investment has come from the federal, provincial and municipal governments, the business community and private citizens. If any of these partners reduces its commitment, as the Federal Government has announced it intends to do, the confidence of the others may be eroded. Much of what has been so painstakingly achieved could be quickly demolished. Hard-earned jobs in this labour-intensive industry would vanish, escalating the already dangerously high unemployment figures. Our artists want work — not welfare.

We must stop treating our arts and culture like a balloon, pumped up for the birthday parties but quickly deflated when politicians get nervous or the economy gets tight.

At this moment, Canada is particularly vulnerable. We are wearied and weakened by an almost endless list of economic and political ills: unemployment, inflation, over-government, labour unrest, regional dissatisfaction, constitutional wrangles, a declining dollar and a lack of purpose.

In the face of all this we need our creative and imaginative minds more than ever. For a country's artistic and cultural expression directly affects its morale, and therefore its ability to surmount crises.

Arts and culture open a doorway to our past. We need this link with our history. We need it to be strengthened. The arts provide a unique reflection of the present, putting us in touch with what we feel about the world we live in. In this increasingly impersonal world, the arts keep us in touch with our emotions.

Arts and culture allow us to experience our country's richness and diversity. They help us to identify what is uniquely our own, what is common to all. By knowing ourselves better, we can gain a sense of purpose and share a future. The heritage with which we endow our children will either be sterile and barren or rich with cultural memories.

We need an inquiry and debate now. The process of inquiry is important in itself. Public participation is crucial. The need for new directions, rapidly followed by new government policies, is urgent.

TODAY, ACROSS CANADA, WE CALL FOR A FULL-SCALE INQUIRY AND DEBATE ON OUR ARTS, CULTURE AND COMMUNICATIONS — BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE.

Signed: The 1812 Committee

QUESTIONS

1. (a) Select the five sentences that you believe are the most important points of the article.

(b) As a class discuss these sentences and compose a group paragraph which summarizes the article.

2. As a class discuss how you can investigate the truth of the statistics on pages 26-27 within your own community. Compare the results of your investigation with what is given. Try to explain any differences.

3. The influence of American culture is often presented as the "silent menace" that threatens the arts in Canada and our own unique identity.

(a) In what ways does the Arts Day statement support this theory?

(b) Suppose that you were an American artist. How would you reply to this theory and the Arts Day statement?

4. Plan a Canadian Arts Day for your class, or if possible your school. In preparing this event you should try to cover as wide a range of Canadian arts as possible. There are many individuals and organizations across the country who will be willing and able to help and advise you in your efforts. You may know some of the more important groups in your area already. However, if you don't know who to ask for advice, you can write to the Canadian Conference of the Arts and they will send you the names of useful organizations and individuals in your area. Write to:

Canadian Conference of the Arts/Conférence Canadienne des Arts
141 Laurier Avenue West
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5J3

(a) As your plans develop, keep a record of the kinds of problems you encountered in making your program distinctively Canadian.

(b) Keep a record of the reactions of students and other people to your program.

(c) At the completion of your Arts Day, develop conclusions about the influence of the U.S.A. on arts in Canada and how Canadians might respond to this situation.

6/Managing Canada-U.S. Relations

Communications between nations operate at many levels. The relationship between Canada and the United States is no exception. Because of the closeness of the two countries, geographically and in other ways, there are probably more channels of communication than between most countries. In this section some of these will be examined.

The Embassy Level

An American in Ottawa (The United States Ambassador to Canada)

The best part of the day for me is between 6:30 and breakfast. It's one of the few times I can talk to Gaetana, my wife, without interruption. She stays in bed and we talk while I get dressed. I always have the same thing for breakfast: fruit Yogurt and maple syrup. We make our own syrup at the residency because there are lots of maples on the grounds. . . .

The first part of the morning I spend reading the cables from around the world and preparing my approach to the day. At 9:30 I'll meet with members of the embassy, the public affairs, economic, political, military and scientific officers, and we'll debate the issues of the day. I like to run an embassy as a collective effort. We'll figure out what we want to hear from the seven consulates general scattered throughout Canada and talk about any problems we might see cropping up in relations between the two countries.

There's hardly a day when I'm in Ottawa that I'm not paying a call on a cabinet minister or department. I also see a lot of MP's on an informal basis. Inevitably there's also the business of dealing with my colleagues in the diplomatic corps. Every country insists on having its national day, which I'd like to see an international treaty put an end to. There are about 80 accredited missions to Ottawa now, and each one has its national day cocktail party, which means 80 days of the year I'm off to these time-consuming functions. It's rather tiresome.

In the afternoon I come back to the embassy for more meetings and phone calls. I speak to people in Washington a lot; I need to so I can fill the brokerage* function of an ambassador. I make about 15 or 18 trips a year to different parts of the U.S., giving lectures to businessmen and universities about Canada. There's been a huge growth of interest in Canada among Americans in the last six or seven years. . . . I also see all the mail addressed to

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* *Brokerage — acting as "middleman" in negotiations*

me from Canadians who feel they've been wrongly treated by our consular department, or from people who write in about controversial issues.

But most of my activity is concerned with any negotiations between the U.S. and Canada — on trade, or the pipeline, or salmon fishing in the Pacific, or the wording on joint declarations for forthcoming conferences. I'm reasonably punctual for all my meetings — I can see the Peace Tower clock from my window. My secretary soon pulls me up if I show signs of failing.

I leave the office sometime after 7. Most nights we are either giving or going to a party. Last month we gave nine dinner parties. My wife and the chef decide on the menu, though I'll join the discussions if the guest is very important, and I provide the wine. I love all the entertaining. . . .

I'm out of Ottawa for nearly one-third of the year, mostly in other parts of Canada. In the 28 months I've been here I've travelled an average of 50 000 miles a year within Canada. I always fly on commercial airlines. I enjoy travelling — in my last job (Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs) I travelled 150 000 miles a year. My greatest pleasure when I'm on trips is going mountain walking, so if I can find a way to stop off in the Rocky Mountains I do.

From "A Day In The Life" by Thomas Enders, *Weekend Magazine,* July 1, 1975

Canadians in Washington

The Washington Embassy, established in 1927, was Canada's first post abroad. A Department of External Affairs had been created in 1909, but representation abroad had previously been in the hands of the British Government.

The original staff was small, consisting only of the Minister, a Commercial Secretary, two First Secretaries and a Third Secretary.

The outbreak of the Second World War and the entry into it of the United States greatly increased the work of the legation. . . . By the end of the war, the diplomatic staff had grown to sixteen, including the Ambassador, the Minister, a Counsellor, a Commercial Counsellor, three Commercial Secretaries, two Attachés and junior officers. Since that time, the Embassy staff has been strengthened by the integration of Canadian representatives in specialized fields, including finance, science, labour and energy. Also included in the economic representation are the Canadian executive directors of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

When the United States entered the war in 1942 the scope of military activity and representation increased rapidly. . . . The military organization is now known as Canadian Defense Liaison Staff (Washington), abbreviated as CDLS(W). The Commander is an officer of the rank of Major-General or equivalent who also serves as Canadian Forces Attaché and principal military advisor to the Canadian Ambassador in Washington. In addition, there are Navy, Army, Air Force and Defense Research Board members, each of whom is an attaché to the Embassy. CDLS(W) is located on Massachusetts Avenue in a building erected by the Canadian Government in 1954.

The press, information and cultural functions, part of the Embassy role since 1940, were expanded in 1969 and the Office of Information was established in separate quarters. Since 1966 the Canadian Government Office of Tourism has been servicing the requirements of prospective tourists on a street level basis. In 1971, administrative support services for all government representation in Washington were integrated under the Direction of the Department of External Affairs.

From "Canadian Representation in the United States," Department of External Affairs, April 1974

The following article describes some of the Canadian officials in Washington who work at our embassy and have day-to-day contact with American officials.

The chief political officer is Ken Williamson, a dark, slender and guarded diplomat with 26 years of experience and an impressive grasp of U.S. politics.

One of the most influential of those who work under the two ministers is Dick O'Hagan, Minister-Counsellor (Information), a former press aide to Prime Minister Pearson. O'Hagan's information and public relations office is notable not only for the steady drum roll of press releases and special papers it turns out, but for the depth of "penetration". . . it has achieved for Canada in the U.S. press corps. Everybody knows O'Hagan, and most are impressed by him. O'Hagan arranges occasional visits of U.S. journalists to Ottawa, which are anything but junkets. "We work our butts off, but we learn a lot," said one reporter who went. He also gives the local press rundowns — strictly neutral — on the current state of play in Canadian politics.

Canada's military presence in Washington is maintained by 28 officers, 46 other ranks and one civilian, a sad comedown from the days (1960) when there were 213 Defense Department employees here, and the army, the navy, the air force and the general staff each occupied one floor of the Defense Liaison building. However, of the 28 officers, four have the rank of general (while the top-ranking Americans in Ottawa are mere colonels). Major-General Dick Stovel, the ranking officer, explains that, "If a colonel calls a colonel, he may or may not call back; if a general calls a colonel, the call will be returned."

As General Stovel explains it, our role in Washington is to "keep the doors to the Pentagon open, so we can be in on the decision-making process." And what decisions have we influenced? "For example, we're trying to persuade the Americans not to use the word 'offensive' to describe attacks. Canadians don't like to be offensive. Instead, we try to get them to say 'strategic' and, by golly, they're coming around."

Lorne Clark, a young (33), long, lean native of Arvida, Quebec, is a political secretary who spends most of his time in "liaison" with Congressmen, lunching with Senate aides, buying drinks for key officials on the important committees, writing letters to public figures who make speeches about Canada, and even preparing material for politicians interested in our way of doing things. For example, Clark produced a voluminous file on the operation of Canada's medicare scheme for a committee chaired by Senator Ted Kennedy, who would like to see such a plan adopted in the U.S. This excursion brought an American complaint about "outside interference," which had some validity. . . . Still, it's nice to think that we are occasionally vigorous enough to inspire someone to complain about us pushing the Americans around.

From "Our Washington Game Plan" by Walter Stewart
Maclean's, August 1973

A Case Study in Relations

The previous extracts and articles should have given you some idea of how things operate in the official relations between Canada and the U.S.A. However, the way things work behind the scenes can be rather different, as this next article shows. The incident it describes took place in February 1978 and involved William Porter, then the U.S. Ambassador to Canada, Henry Kissinger, former U.S. Secretary of State, and former Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau.

The diplomatic row came about following a private reception for 10 Canadian reporters at which Mr. Porter made some statements about the relationship between the two countries.

Later, he was quoted as saying that nationalistic attitudes in Canada were causing alarm in Congress and in the U.S. news media, adding that Canada-U.S. relations had deteriorated during his term in Ottawa.

Mr. Trudeau, to use Mr. Porter's word, "erupted." The Prime Minister accused Mr. Porter of going well beyond the bounds in which an ambassador should stay.

"The comments came as a surprise to me, in substance and form, and do not reflect in any way what I have heard from President (Gerald) Ford, Secretary of State Kissinger or our own ambassador (to Washington)."

Mr. Trudeau also was surprised that "an experienced diplomat like Mr. Porter would not find other channels for expressing views if he thinks they are right."

Says Mr. Porter: "I tried twice to see Mr. Trudeau before leaving Ottawa, once through the regular channels of protocol and once through a member of his staff. Neither worked.

"The reason I was given by the External Affairs Department was that it was a ceremonial thing and that it was not his custom to see departing ambassadors. I said there would be some substantive* matters to discuss, but it didn't work. I did not say what the matters would be, but I think at that time there was no question about what was worrying us. I then tried with a member of the Prime Minister's staff and received no reply to that one."

Canada's then-External Affairs Minister, Allen MacEachen, and Mr. Kissinger were attending a conference in Paris on international economic cooperation, and Mr. MacEachen was instructed by the Prime Minister to lodge a complaint with Mr. Kissinger about the ambassador's performance.

"Kissinger reacted as he had done before on other occasions — not with the Canadians, necessarily, but other similar occasions — by saying he knew nothing about it (the approach to the news media) and that relations with Canada were great."

Did Mr. Kissinger know about the planned approach to the media?

"All I can tell you is that if he didn't, with a matter which bothered a very important Government and country like Canada, if somebody didn't read him the telegram, then he had very bad staff work or was personally remiss.

"Kissinger was told by cable that they (the State Department) intended this action. It was certainly repeated to him with a high-priority label."

Is Mr. Porter sure that the cables arrived?

"I have only checked and found out that his party received those cables. Then, it becomes a matter of staff work."

By now back in Washington, while the furor raged in Ottawa, Mr. Porter received a call from the State Department early in the morning telling him that Mr. Kissinger was planning to disavow the ambassador's action.

Mr. Porter said he tried to contact Mr. Kissinger on the telephone but was unable to do so. Instead, he spoke to two senior Kissinger aides — one in Paris, the other in London — to be sure the message was conveyed to the secretary.

"I told them that he (Mr. Kissinger) should keep in mind that if there were any disavowal he would need to find another ambassador to Saudi Arabia."

Finding a new ambassador "was too high a price to pay, even for calming down MacEachen and, presumably, Trudeau."

Subsequently, there was no disavowal. "After I had telephoned that message, Mr. Kissinger ordered that nobody should say anything more about the matter on the American side, and nobody did."

From "Kissinger, U.S. Envoy Tangle Over Relations with Canada," the Toronto *Globe and Mail,* Monday, Feb. 20, 1978

QUESTIONS

1. In your own words explain what the job of an ambassador seems to be, based on the description Thomas Enders gives of the job.
2. For most people making a career of External Affairs, the posting that is most attractive is Washington. Why do you think this is so?
3. Being an ambassador can be a difficult job. Explain the frustrations and problems experienced by William Porter in the form of a personal letter he might have written to a friend.

* *Substantive — important*

7/Issues and Activities

In this final section of Unit 1 you will find a series of questions, exercises and activities that bring together all the different things you have looked at in the unit.

1. Organize a group whose main interest is Canadian/American relations, with special concern for the continued independence of Canada, economically, culturally and politically. Your group feels that, in fact, Canada's sovereignty is threatened by the present situation. For your group you should do the following:

(a) Choose a name and prepare a symbol that best indicate the nature of the organization.

(b) Draw up a budget sheet for the next year in which you explain how you will raise money and how you propose to spend it.

(c) Write a letter which you would mail out to Canadians explaining the purposes of your group.

(d) Prepare a full-page advertisement for a newspaper that will catch the attention of individuals and at the same time get across your message.

(e) Write a speech for one of your members who has been invited to speak at a national convention of business leaders in Canada.

2. Organize a formal debate. You will need two teams with three students in each team. The subject, or motion, for the debate will be, Resolved: that Canada's best interests lie in even closer relations with the United States. The team supporting this statement "proposes the motion" and is called the "proposition." The team against it is the "opposition." The captain of the proposition speaks first, followed by the captain of the opposition. Thereafter the teams speak alternately, proposition then opposition, until all three members of each team have spoken. After that, the debate is "opened to the floor." This means that anyone else in the class can make a short speech supporting or opposing the motion. To end the debate, the two captains speak a second time, summarizing their own team's arguments and answering the main arguments of the other team. For this final round the captain of the opposition speaks first.

While the debate is going on everyone in the class should make notes of the main points made by the speakers on both sides. Then, after the debate is over, the class votes for or against the motion, which is thus either "approved" or "defeated."

3. Often when a problem becomes apparent in Canadian life, a group called a Royal Commission is formed by the government to investigate before any action is taken. This may be done at both a provincial and federal level. A commission is usually made up of people particularly interested or expert in the problem. The members will often travel across the country to receive briefs from people who are concerned about the topic. People may present their briefs in person or in written form. The commissioners may want to question some of these individuals. As well there will be a number of research assistants to help with the investigation and the assembling of the final report.

The final report will consist of the following:

(a) Explanation of terms of reference (clear definitions of the problem and the terminology used in the report).

(b) Findings of the Commission.

(c) Recommendations based on the findings.

With this description in mind organize a Royal Commission to investigate Canadian/American relations. You might want to look at all aspects generally, or one aspect like economics or culture intensively. You might want to call for briefs from within the class, within the school or from your community.

4. A Simulation

The Year: sometime in the future . . .

The Players:

Prime Minister of Canada
Executive Assistant to the Prime Minister
The Canadian Ambassador to the United States
Secretary of State for External Affairs
Other advisors may also be appointed

The Scenario:

It is five years now since Canada withdrew both from NATO and NORAD (see pages 85-86, 19-22). Since that time you have pursued a policy of neutrality. You have consistently worked closely with the non-aligned countries in the United Nations. Many nations now consider the work of Canada as an effective instrument for peace.

In spite of this policy you have continued to maintain close relations with the United States. Over the last few years the two economies have, if anything, become more closely entwined.

During the last year, however, the world situation has deteriorated with increasing speed. The deterioration began when talks (between the United States and Soviet Union) on arms limitation broke off abruptly. Since then both countries have entered into an arms race at breakneck speed.

Tensions have continued to increase. The Soviet fleet has conducted manoeuvres in the Atlantic. The United States, on the other hand, has announced a program to develop the most sophisticated rockets yet available. Many observers feel the world is closer to a major war than at any time since the Cuban missile crisis.

In the last month tension has developed in Canadian/American relations because of the world crisis. You have concluded a major wheat deal with the Soviet Union. This deal is important to both countries. In the Soviet Union in a year of drought and crop failure, thousands of people are depending on this deal. In Canada western grain elevators, already bulging to capacity, will have to be emptied to make way for *this* year's record crop.

However, United States officials are taking a strong stand against this deal. In conditions as they now exist, they consider this to be "trading with the enemy." Some radicals in the U.S.A. have even called the proposed wheat deal an "act of war." Although no specific action has been mentioned, there has been talk of "retaliation" by the U.S.A.

What will you do?

How to play the game:

The class may be divided into a number of groups with members of each group playing the specified roles. Each group will deal with the same crisis.

Or there may be only one group playing the specified roles. In this case the rest of the class may then continue with other work and play the role of reporters who will eventually question the officials when their material is presented.

The group will be responsible for producing the following:

1. A communique to the President of the United States explaining Canada's decision and why this decision was reached.
2. A speech to the people of Canada explaining your decision and how this will affect Canada.
3. A paper discussing how this crisis and your decision will affect future relations between Canada and the United States.

Note: This work should be divided among members of the group. The decisions should also be discussed by the whole group but the final decision belongs to the Prime Minister.

Work in American reaction.
One way of doing this would be to have the teacher explain the exercise to another class and have them respond as they think the U.S. would to the Canadian positions.

DEBRIEFING

After you have played the game discuss the following questions as a class.

1. As a Canadian official, how was your approach to the United States influenced by the relative size and power of the two countries?
2. Do you think it was a realistic exercise? Could this crisis really take place? Can you think of a more realistic crisis sometime in the future?
3. What weapons are available for Canada to fight the vast economic and military power of the United States if this were ever to become necessary?
4. Would the decisions of your Canadian group, particularly your Prime Minister, meet with the approval of the majority of Canadian citizens? Give reasons for your answer.

Unit 2

Canada Beyond North America

"It is cold and getting colder
We need each others' breathing,
warmth; surviving is the only
war we can afford."

Margaret Atwood

—quoted by Shridath Ramphal, Secretary General of the Commonwealth, in an address to a conference of the United Nations Association in Canada, Winnipeg, 1977.

Introduction

The world beyond our Canadian borders is generally quite different to the one we know in our own country. How we should react to all these differences is a matter of great debate.

Some nations, called the First World, are, much like ourselves, democratic, economically developed and the richest countries of the globe; these countries are industrial, literate, urban.

Other countries, called the Second World, are also quite progressive in their industry and standard of living yet they differ from us because they are under totalitarian communist governments.

The largest group is what is called the Third World, with over seventy nations, most of whom have become independent since World War Two. While their cultural roots are very strong, their industrial progress lags far behind the First and Second Worlds. They struggle to protect themselves, to retain their heritages and, at the same time, to gain for their peoples the basic standard of living which most of us take for granted. These people are mainly illiterate, agrarian and rural.

Directing and co-ordinating Canada's relations with all these countries is the job of the Department of External Affairs, a government department responsible to Parliament through its Minister who is called The Secretary of State for External Affairs. This position or "portfolio," as it is called, is one of the most important posts in the Cabinet.

In a sense *every* Canadian can affect our relations with other nations. The foreign visitor who is treated well in our country takes home a particular impression of Canada. The Canadian who is living or touring abroad can also leave impressions through the way he or she acts.

But it is primarily to the Department of External Affairs that we give the task of speaking to other governments on our behalf and protecting our interests in these countries. We also expect this Department to help us to interpret the actions and ideas of the rest of the world for Canadians.

The world today is a complicated arrangement of competing and co-operating nations. This statement has probably been true throughout history, but what is unique today is the degree of this complexity, the number of participating nations and the speed with which events occur. As always, this game of power is being played for very high stakes.

Traditionally, the leaders of nations have been most concerned with their political, military and economic power. Today, however, the world also worries about such new topics as energy, terrorism, population growth, disarmament, the gulf between rich and poor countries, human rights and the environment.

Because people need to co-operate as well as to compete, most conflicts are contained or controlled. Occasionally, however, a problem somewhere in the world turns into violence and the rest of the world anxiously seeks to cool this "hot spot."

In all of these matters, External, as it is commonly called, works closely with other federal departments such as Immigration, Defence, and Industry, Trade and Commerce because these, too, have tasks to carry out for Canada abroad. Similarly thousands of private citizens, organizations, government bodies and industrial and business enterprises have their own interests and commitments beyond our borders.

How External and some of these other groups represent Canada in a complex world is the theme of this unit.

8/How the World Knows Canada

QUESTIONS

1. (a) As a class try to decide which nations fit into each of the three categories mentioned in the Introduction to this Unit. If you remember that the nations of the First and Second Worlds are industrial and urban, while the nations of the Third World depend more on agriculture, you should be able to decide which nations fit into each category.

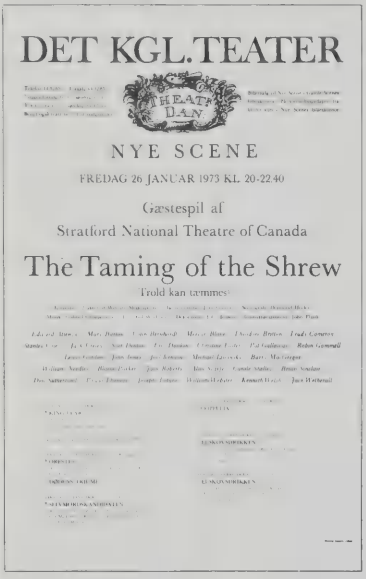
(b) Colour code these countries on a map of the world. Then think about some of the problems that might be particularly important for the countries in each category.

2. What types of problems might Canada have in dealing with the nations of the First, Second and Third Worlds? Think about the problems themselves and also about the ways we can deal with them.

3. Set up a class bulletin board divided into three sections. Collect headlines and articles about these three Worlds and the problems currently in the news for each. As your collection gets larger you will be able to deal more thoroughly with question 2 above.

4. Appoint a class committee to keep a list of citizens, businesses, government bodies, organizations, etc. who have interests in other countries. Keep notes on how each operates, what each hopes to achieve, and any local citizens who might be able to tell the class more about them.

Cultural Exchanges


DET KGL. TEATER

NYE SCENE

FREDAG 26 JANUAR 1973 KL. 20-22.40

Gæstespil af

Stratford National Theatre of Canada

The Taming of the Shrew

The Stratford Festival's tour of Germany.

Tourism

Private Initiative

Individual Canadians can do much to influence the way the world sees us. The following case is but one example of this.

You get to the Colombian *barrio* (district) of Santa Inés by driving up through the steep mountain alleyways behind Bogotá. The houses seem decent enough at first, but then you come to clumps of shabby little corrugated-iron shacks clinging to the hillsides, and naked youngsters chasing scurries of skinny fowls.

Opportunities for a youngster to breakaway from the hopelessness of Santa Inés were always pretty bleak — until the Canadians came.

Ambassador R.A.D. Ford visited the *barrio* and conditions in Santa Inés shocked him. Back in Bogotá, he told other Canadians.

The story became a topic of conversation in the Canadian community of about 60 families. People began to call the embassy and inquire: "How do you get to that *barrio* you've been talking about?"

By 1961, Canadian residents had collected enough money among themselves to build a one-room school to accommodate 75 children between the ages of 7 and 11. The following year, they decided to expand the *barrio* project by founding a *jardin infantil* — a kindergarten for youngsters between the ages of two and seven which would offer free meals, basic education, and medical care, plus regular courses in sewing and hygiene for mothers.

The new classrooms were completed last January, giving the building complex three teaching areas, a dining room and kitchen, an office and medical examination room, a play patio and the only indoor plumbing in Santa Inés. The entire $15,000 needed to build the school has come from individual Canadians.

Excerpted from "Canada's Corner in Colombia" by Betty Lee, *The Globe Magazine,* March 27, 1965

Information Services

Radio Canada International (RCI) broadcasts by shortwave some 150 program hours per week in eleven languages, to five regions of the world: Eastern Europe (including the USSR), Western Europe; Africa; North America (including the U.S.A. and the Caribbean); South America (including Mexico and Central America). Broadcasts are in English, French, German, Portuguese, Spanish, Ukrainian, Polish, Czech, Slovak, Hungarian and Italian.

RCI also provides recorded programs to the domestic radio systems of many countries. Music recordings in RCI's transcription service include serious, folk, jazz and popular works by Canadian composers and performers, as well as Canadian intepretation and styling.

Radio Canada International

Athletic Competitions

In Montreal in 1976 and in Edmonton in 1978 Canada played host to thousands of athletes at the Olympics and the Commonwealth Games. Millions of TV viewers around the world watched not only the sports events but also enormous pageants featuring our country's native and founding peoples as well as representatives of various ethnic communities.

The price for these events was high. The Olympics finally cost $1.4 billion, the Edmonton games $54 million. But they gave our athletes and our country international exposure and, in both cases, left the host city with excellent sports facilities.

XI Commonwealth Games
EDMONTON 1978

Church Relief

The Sisters of St. Joseph of Hamilton mission in Teculutan, Guatemala.

N.G.O. (Non-Government Organization) Agencies

The Canadian Red Cross Society

Canadian Red Cross Youth projects are designed to help the recipients help themselves. The provision of poultry, animals or seeds to a project will give it a measure of self-sufficiency and help to insure its continuation.

Private Industry

9/The World We Live In

It is not difficult to find statements of gloom and doom about the world's future. It is far harder to find positive statements. Yet the world has probably had problems throughout history and the optimists always remind us that we have made it this far.

With improved communications the globe seems to have grown smaller. What happens in Asia can be telecast in the same instant in our homes. The luxuries and standard of living we enjoy in Canada can likewise be seen by the rest of the world. And when they see the good health, food, consumer goods, education and security we take for granted they wonder why they should not share in this prosperity.

The cries for equality and sharing are growing louder. Does Canada have any right to ignore them? Can Canada refuse to answer them?

What Kind of World Do We Live In?

We say man was created in the image of God. I refuse to imagine a God who is poor, ignorant, superstitious, fearful, oppressed, wretched — which is the lot of the majority of those he created in his own image.

Men are creators of themselves and their conditions, but under present conditions, we are creatures, not of God, but of our fellow men. Surely there can be no dispute about that.

For mankind has never been so united nor so disunited, has never had such power for good nor suffered from such evident injustices. Men's capacity has never been so clear, nor so obviously and deliberately denied.

The world is one in technological terms. Yet at the same time as the interdependence of man is increasing through the advance of technology, the divisions between men also expand at an ever-increasing rate.

The national income per head in Canada is said to be more than $7500 a year; in my country, Tanzania, it is $180 . . . so the world is not one.

Its peoples are divided between those who are satiated and those who are hungry; between those who exploit and those who are exploited.

And it is the minority which is well fed, the minority which has secured control over the world's wealth and over their fellow men.

These things cannot continue.

Julius Nyerere, President of Tanzania

World of One Thousand

Purpose

To understand our social and economic position in the context of the world.
To study a society which, on a small scale, reflects the peoples and conditions of the world.

Procedure

1. Following is a description of a very special village. It has only a thousand people but those one thousand represent the whole world. It is a village where the same proportions of people of different races, religions, education, etc., live as in the world as a whole. Look carefully at the description of our "World of One Thousand" and then discuss the following questions.

2. Questions:

What do you think the village would look like? Where would the rich and poor live?
Where do you think you would fit into this village?
Would you like to live there? Why?
How do you think the village got this way?
If you lived there, what would you do about it?
Is it possible to change the situation?
What barriers might be in your way?
How can these barriers be broken down?
What means do you think would be justified in attempting to break down the barriers?

World of 1000 People — A Microcosm* Of The World Today

Standard of Living

330 affluent (developed)
670 poor (developing)

63 earn over $2000 per year
82 earn between $1000 and $2000
855 earn less than $1000
670 earn less than $300
495 (almost half) earn less than $100 per year

Almost all of the high-income people are white and many are Christians.

Religion

290 Christians
130 Hindus
120 Buddhists
140 Moslems
90 Confucian and Shinto
50 Animist and other religions
4 Jewish
176 No religion

Race

320 Caucasians
340 Mongolians
260 Asians
70 Negros
10 Amerindians and Mestizos

Children

The poor people have more children than the affluent people do.

In the entire community, there are
370 children under 15 years old
92 of these children are well-to-do
278 children are poor

Education — Rich Children (92)

65 (2/3) receive a primary education
65 (2/3) receive a secondary education

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* *Microcosm — world in miniature*

13 (1/7) receive a university-level education
For the richest among the rich the levels are much higher.

Education — Poor Children (278)
Taking only the below-15-year-old group.
93 (1/3) of the poor children will receive a primary education
46 (1/6) will receive a secondary education
5 of the 278 will receive a university-level education

With 3 times the number of children, the poorer families have only one-third the number of university graduates as the more materially advantaged group.
Of the total adult community (over 15 years old) 225 are illiterate, and almost all of these are in the economically underdeveloped group.

Health
Most shocking is the undernourishment and malnutrition which affects several hundreds of them (accurate statistics are impossible), permanently damaging their development and making them vulnerable to infectious and other diseases. Equally important is the damage done on the psychological level.

Food Intake
The 63 richest have more than 3000 calories per day, with a high animal content; 300 to 400 of the poor may have less than the necessary 2200 calories per day, and only a small fraction of the recommended animal protein total.

Health Conditions
Doctors — There are ten times as many doctors available per capita* among the 330 rich as among the 670 poor.

Nurses — The rich 330 have 15 times as many qualified nurses available.
Hospital Beds — The rich 330 have about 12 times as many hospital beds per person.
Medication — Availability of medications is not easily measured, but it is abundantly clear that while the rich spend vast amounts of money on medicines, the poor have almost no medicine available.

Material Products
Media — The rich have 25 times as many newspapers per capita, 10 times as many radios, and 5 times as many books.
Power — The rich use almost 90 percent of the electricity consumed in the world, and 10 times as much, per person, of the total energy consumption (solid fuels, electricity, liquid fuels, nuclear energy, natural gas).
Products — The rich 330 use 7 times as much commercial fertilizer, have 12 times as many tractors, 14 times as many telephones, 10 times as many passenger and commercial motor vehicles, as the poor 670 do.

A QUESTION

The Canadian Red Cross prepared a packet of materials about international development. In this packet, *One Earth: Why Care?,* are listed seven statements which Canadians make about the rest of the world, particularly the developing world.

Now that you have looked at the "World of One Thousand" consider these statements carefully, perhaps in class groups, and try to understand the prejudices and feelings involved in each statement. How might each be answered truthfully and positively?

(a) Why should we care?
(b) They're poor because they're lazy.
(c) Why don't they help themselves?
(d) They should stop having babies.
(e) Why do the Indians give all their food to cows?
(f) Why do they live like that?
(g) They should find a better place to live.

* Per capita — per person

10/The Canadian Role

i) A Short History of Canada's International Activities in the Twentieth Century

1900 Canada is a self-governing colony whose external relations are directed and controlled through Great Britain.

1902 Alaska Boundary Dispute. Britain sides with the U.S. against our national position.

1909 Prime Minister Laurier leads Parliament to create a Department of External Affairs. The portfolio will be supervised by the Prime Minister.

1914 World War I. 650 000 Canadians serve in uniform and 65 000 are casualties. Our participation leads to demands for our own power in external matters.

1919 At the Versailles peace negotiations, Prime Minister Borden represents and signs for Canada, although we are still part of the British Imperial delegation.
Canada joins the League of Nations as a separate member.

1921 Canada takes control and responsibility for our senior diplomatic representative in Britain, the Canadian High Commissioner.

1922 Canada refuses a British request for assistance in The Chanak Crisis.

1923 Prime Minister Mackenzie King insists that Canada and the U.S.A. alone sign our first international agreement, The Halibut Treaty.

1926 All correspondence between Britain and Canada begins to flow through External Affairs rather than through the Governor General whose office remains a British appointment.

1927 Canada's first embassy opens in Washington with Vincent Massey as ambassador.

1929 Three nations, the U.S.A., France and Japan, open embassies in Ottawa.

1939 Canada declares our own participation in World War II. Over one million Canadians are in uniform and more than 50 000 are casualties.

1941 Canada sends a High Commissioner to the British colony of Newfoundland in recognition of its importance to our defences. Canada begins its first diplomatic missions in South America.

1942 Canada establishes its first diplomatic mission in a Communist country, the USSR.

1945 Canada participates in the San Francisco Conference to create the UN and we are a founding member of this organization.

1946 Parliament amends earlier legislation to allow a Minister other than the Prime Minister to hold the External Affairs portfolio.
Hon. Louis St. Laurent becomes our first Secretary of State for External Affairs.

1947 Canada expands High Commissions to most other Commonwealth nations, including India and Pakistan.

1949 Canada is a founding member of NATO.

1950 27 000 Canadians serve as part of the Korean Force for three years.

1957 Lester B. Pearson is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his work on the idea of United Nations Peacekeeping Forces.

1958 Canada and the U.S.A. agree to integrate their air defences in the NORAD agreement.

1960's Canada develops diplomatic relations in the French-speaking world, particularly in the newly independent French-language states of Africa.

1972 Prime Minister Trudeau makes a visit to China and pledges that Canada will open relations with our Pacific neighbours.

1977 Canada begins a third term as a member of the UN Security Council.

1978 A dispute with the U.S.A. over fishing rights along our coasts is called the Cod War.

ii) The Principles of Foreign Policy

(a) Theory

In the graphic below are the basic blocks which form the foundation of any nation's foreign policy. Below these blocks are listed many of the organizations, activities, and agreements in which Canada is or has been involved.

Consider each of these activities and decide which block it fits into.

WORLD PEACE	NATIONAL SECURITY
PROMOTION OF SOCIAL JUSTICE	NATIONAL IDEALS AND IMAGES
TRADITIONAL OBLIGATIONS	FOSTERING ECONOMIC GROWTH
ENSURING A HARMONIOUS NATURAL ENVIRONMENT	

—Committee of 20

—United Nations

—Cyprus Emergency Force

—Canada/China Cultural Accord

—Law of the Sea Conference

—Helsinki Agreement

—NATO

—International Year of the Child

—trade

—Arms Limitation Agreement

—World Health Organization

—International Court of Justice

—UNESCO

—International Olympic Committee

—Canada-Cuba Hijacking Agreement

—Immigration

—The Commonwealth

—CIDA

—diplomatic recognition of a new nation

—Agence de Cooperation culturelle et technique

—Inter American Development Bank

—NORAD

—Associate Membership with ECC

—Committee on Disarmament

—Military Training Assistance

(b) Development

Canadian foreign policy, like that of any other nation, is based on two things. On the one hand there are the policies that we *initiate;* on the other, there are the events in the world to which we *react.*

Generally speaking, though, any country's external policy is a reaction to foreign events. Canada, which is not a major power, spends a good deal of time reacting to events abroad. We must constantly assess these events and decide whether our best interests will be served by our getting involved in these situations beyond our own borders.

If one of our allies takes a strong position on a world issue, then we must consider whether we will also become involved. When the U.S.A. broke trade relations with Cuba, for example, Canada had to decide if our economic policy toward Cuba should also change; in that particular case we concluded that we would not follow the U.S.A., even though this brought criticism from some American sources.

On the other hand there are some situations where Canadian policy can be unique, where our country can start the diplomatic ball rolling. In 1968, for example, we concluded that the right time had come to open relations with the People's Republic of China. The decision was finalized after the 1968 election campaign during which the Liberal party presented the idea to the country.

Prior to this time Canada had always avoided taking a stand in favour of either Taiwan or the People's Republic, both of which claimed to speak for all Chinese. We had been keeping an embassy open in Taiwan but by 1968 it was clear that if we were ever to establish relations with the Mainland Chinese (the People's Republic) then we could not continue our relations with the island country of Taiwan.

We came to the conclusion that the *effective* government of China was the one with its capital in Peking, the one which controlled the country called the People's Republic of China.

Canada became the first of the countries of the world to recognize Peking at that time. And it was the

Canadian formula, the words in which our agreement with the People's Republic was framed, negotiated in Sweden by the Canadian and Chinese ambassadors, that set the pattern for all the other nations who followed us in establishing diplomatic links with Peking.

The Canadian formula for recognition had to take into account three demands made by the Peking government: that we should break diplomatic relations with Taiwan, that we should support the People's Republic as the rightful occupant of the China chair in the United Nations, and that we should recognize their ownership of, or sovereignty over, the island of Taiwan.

Our response to the first two items was positive. Canada said that the third matter was irrelevant to an agreement, because it was not a question for us to decide. Just as we were not asking Peking to recognize our sovereignty over the Arctic islands, so they could not expect us to comment on their control of Taiwan. How big China is, is not for Canadians to decide, but rather for the Chinese to decide.

Conversations between the two sides went on for months and little progress seemed to be made. Finally the Canadian diplomats said that we were just repeating ourselves and that if we could not come to an agreement then the talks should end. The Chinese insisted that they did want an agreement and the following formula was developed.

Canada agreed to recognize the People's Republic of China as the only government of China; we supported them as members of the United Nations; and, while we did not recognize their ownership of Taiwan, we *took note* of their declaration that it was part of their country.

The Department of External Affairs worked out the principles of these two initiatives. Then a presentation was prepared for the Cabinet and when Mitchell Sharp, then the Secretary of State for External Affairs, received the Cabinet's approval, he proceeded to carry the decisions into effect. Mr. Sharp issued an official statement which said that Canada would *neither accept nor challenge* the Peking government's position on Taiwan.

(c) Practice

In each of the following cases based on true incidents, it appears that various principles of Canadian foreign policy are in conflict with each other. Which principles do you feel should be more important in the examples? Prepare arguments to support your decisions.

After you have done this, establish a priority list for the principles of Canadian foreign policy.*

Case A

Nation X, a Commonwealth country whose military services are being advised by Canadian officers, decides to attack its neighbour, Nation Y, where Canadian grants have been given for the construction of hydro-electric plants along the river which borders the two. What should Canada do?

Case B

An outspoken citizen of a Second World country goes on trial for "hooliganism," a hollow charge because he really took a stand on demanding freedom of speech. Both his native land and Canada have signed the Helsinki Agreement and leaders of the two nations have exchanged visits to develop trade and cultural contacts. Through diplomatic messages, this nation has advised Canada that any public statement from our government on this trial could seriously jeopardize the progress in our relations. What should Canada do?

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* *Priority list — a list in order of importance*

Case C

In a poor Third World country a Canadian shoe manufacturer establishes a highly industrialized plant. It will likely make a great deal of money for the company's Canadian shareholders but it will definitely eliminate the jobs of craftsmen in that country. What can the Canadian government do?

Case D

Bauxite is a natural resource which Canadian industry must import. Our chief source of the mineral is a country whose government is tightly controlled by a dictatorship known for its use of terror and violence to maintain power. The money we pay for the bauxite helps to finance this dictatorship. What should we do?

Case E

The noted leader of a country with whom our traditional links are strong visits Canada and delivers a stirring speech in support of separatist sentiment in Canada. What should the Canadian government do?

Case F

A Second World country will be the host to the upcoming Olympics. To finance the games it wants to sell a special series of coins and stamps in Canada but certain organizations in our own country have formed pressure groups to boycott and ruin these sales because of the policies of this Second World country. What should the Canadian government do?

iii) Wanted: Canadians

PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION OF CANADA

Wanted:
Canadians to represent our country abroad in such Departments as External Affairs; Industry, Trade and Commerce; Employment and Immigration.

Qualifications:
Must have a broad knowledge of our country and of the world.

Bilingualism is an advantage although training in one of Canada's two official languages can be provided.

The ability to speak another foreign language is an asset.

Must be a stable personality and must demonstrate common sense and logic in thinking and actions.
Must be a university graduate.
Must be under 35 years of age when applying.
Must be willing to undergo a security check by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Training:
An initial training and development period of 18 months may include time in the particular Department headquarters as well as experience in a mission such as the United Nations. The trainee then becomes a probationary officer.

Salary:
An employee on probation can expect to receive approximately $10 865 per annum.

Applications:
Annually, Public Service Canada accepts applications from interested candidates and holds series of examinations at such locations as university campuses. Persons interested in foreign service positions must write a second examination. Applicants successful in completing these stages may then be requested to come to a personal interview.

The number of successful applicants who are offered jobs is low. In 1977 ten officers were recruited for IT&C, nine for Employment and Immigration, and fourteen for External Affairs.

For more details contact the Public Service Commission of Canada through its regional offices in the larger Canadian cities.

iv) Could You Serve Canada Abroad?

Obviously Canada's international representatives should know a lot about our own country because foreigners will ask them a great variety of questions about us.

Here is a short, difficult quiz. If you can pass this, perhaps a career in the foreign service is ahead for you. (Give yourself one point for every correct answer you achieve in parts A and B)

Part A. Identify each of the following:

W.A.C. Bennett
Norman Bethune
George Brown
Emily Carr
Roch Carrier
Maria Chapdelaine
Burton Cummings
Jean Drapeau
Gabrielle Dumont
Timothy Eaton
Sanford Fleming
Maureen Forrester
Glen Gould
William Hutt
The Golden Jet
Paul Emile Léger
Jack McClelland
David Lewis
Nellie McClung
Arthur Meighen
Susannah Moodie
Alice Munro
Northern Dancer
Clifford Sifton
Robert Stanfield
Harold Town
Cyrus Eaton

Part B.

1. Calgary has its Stampede. What is the name of the annual summer celebration in Edmonton?
2. How many yards are on a Canadian football field between the goal posts?
3. What poem was written by Col. John McCrae during World War I?
4. Who was the first woman to serve in a Canadian federal cabinet?
5. Where is Citadel Hill?
6. Name Canada's first satellite.
7. What athlete carried the flag for our country at the most recent Olympics?
8. How many ridings are represented in the House of Commons?
9. What is the name of the horse-drawn carriages which carry tourists in Quebec City?
10. In what province will you find Green Gables?
11. Who invented the snowmobile?
12. Where in Canada and what are the tar sands?
13. Name the Prime Minister who steered the bill to give Canada its own flag through parliament.
14. Who holds the record for most goals scored in the NHL?
15. Who selected Ottawa to be Canada's capital?
16. What is Alberta's Heritage Fund?

Part C.

Being able to handle difficult situations is another part of the diplomat's responsibilities. Consider how you personally would deal with each of these questions. Then, as a class, discuss the situations and try to decide what the most appropriate courses of action are.

1. You are to represent Canada at a party given by the royal family of the nation where you have been posted. At the party the King or Queen sends a message to request that you join him or her in the next dance.
But you can't dance!
What do you do?
2. A Canadian businessman requests your help to secure contracts for his firm in the country where you

are posted. In a quiet comment he says that he will "look after" you back home with "whatever you need" for each big contract you assist him in winning. How would you react to the situation?

3. One of your colleagues on the embassy staff has confided in you, and only in you, that she is worried that her director will *unfairly* give her a bad rating at her job. You have reason to believe that this is true but this director is likely to rate you poorly too if it appears you are interfering in the matter.
What would you do for your friend?

4. At a new posting the staff is always very busy, in fact so busy that you are the only one who can plan a visit for a Canadian who hopes to develop contracts for our National Ballet Company for a future tour to this country. Yet you, too, have only just been posted here.
How would you prepare for this visitor to make his or her visit worthwhile?

5. Canada keeps only two diplomats in nation X. Today is Sunday and while the other person is away it is your responsibility to be on call at the office.

The telephone rings. It is your colleague and he is breathless as he identifies himself and says, "Please listen carefully. I have been kidnapped and these people are allowing me one brief phone call to you. Unless what they demand is done within forty-eight hours, my fate is uncertain. They want four people from this country who are now in jail in Winnipeg as suspected terrorists released immediately and flown home. They want a million dollars in cash given to this group. You must not alert the local police or government officials or the press. Please do this to save me!" The conversation stops abruptly.
What do you do?

v) Memo from Sylva Gelber

Miss Gelber is a Special Assistant to the Minister of Labour and former Canadian representative on the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women.

To: Canadian young people
re: participation in Canada's international affairs

How can I get a message to Canadian high school girls? How can I talk to young people at an age when they are very conformist? How do I tell girls that they can be ambassadors and foreign services officers?
The role of women in international affairs is still very small. In some Third World countries women have assumed senior positions, in others the women still live in serfdom and slavery. I know because I've talked with these people in their own countries.
Here in Canada the record of laws to give equal rights to women is progressive, in fact quite exceptional by world standards. But this still does not mean that we share equal responsibility with men for the activities we carry out around the globe.

When I served as part of the Canadian delegation to the UN General Assembly in 1975 I was the only female delegate. I refused to allow myself to be used as a token representative. To prove myself I worked extra hard to be aware of issues far beyond what my colleagues expected me to know.

Of course every delegation thinks its women may have a seat on committees discussing human rights and social topics. Women are supposed to be compassionate. That's part of the blarney!

But why do they expect us not to be ready to discuss economic, military and political problems? Why shouldn't a woman state a country's point of view? Respect for females in international affairs is still a battle that has to be waged!

What goes on in these world debates and the role given to women there is simply a reflection of the attitude back home. The main claim of those in power is that they haven't got women with the proper kind of background for these tasks. And so they see women as lacking competence in the fields I've mentioned above.

They can't seem to think of a woman who's good at economics — but don't ask me why. If one opens the *Financial Times* on any morning one can see that half the stories are written by women. But the image of a woman in the field of economics is not yet accepted and that even goes for our leaders in External Affairs.

If you want to know the situation of women in international relations just look at the situation of women in External. At the senior levels only one or two women have made it to the top; there is a cluster of fine young women beginning their careers now. And in between there is nothing!

External says this is partly because women don't apply. I can't argue with them on that. I meet plenty of women who are willing to assist with political campaigns but they don't see themselves as having a role in international affairs. This is the real problem which those of us concerned with the status of women must cope with.

I believe totally in telling girls exactly what they are up against. Frankly, there are still ambassadors who refuse to delegate significant tasks to women. As a result of this discrimination External has lost a number of good young women who have switched to other departments where they don't have those problems.

I am hopeful that the present generation of leaders in government is about at retirement age and that a younger generation of enlightened leaders will see things differently. I can't change the "old boys" who feel uncomfortable having a drink with a woman on equal terms but I do have confidence in the new leaders.

In Canada we've made significant strides in the status of women, but it's not yet reflected in our delegations abroad nor in the senior ranks of our public service. Changes are coming, though — for example, now CIDA has a senior woman staff member and that's important as we give assistance to the Third World.

The best group of women I've noted in my personal experience has been the fine young foreign service officers training recently at the UN mission in New York. I look to these women, who are very competent, to pioneer a new era.

Our high school girls definitely should consider careers in serving Canada abroad. But come into the battle with your eyes wide open. It is a battle which we, your predecessors, have been fighting, and we've made a few breakthroughs.

Now you should finish the job!

QUESTIONS

1. What are some of the obstacles that, in Sylva Gelber's opinion, have kept women from achieving equality with men in External?
2. In 1979 Flora MacDonald, Member of Parliament for Kingston and the Islands, was appointed Secretary of State for External Affairs. She was the first woman appointed to this post. What problems might she face that are different from those of the men who preceded her? Do you think her appointment will make any difference to some of the problems that Sylva Gelber talked about?

vi) Canada: Diplomatic Missions

Canadian interests around the world are represented by embassies in sixty countries and by high commissions in seventeen others (Commonwealth countries). Two of our ambassadors work in the centres of world power, Washington and Moscow. One works in a state, the Vatican City, only a few city blocks in size. Some work in countries whose independence goes back a thousand years. Others work in countries that did not exist before 1945. Our High Commissioner to the United Kingdom works within sight of Buckingham Palace.

In addition to the above seventy-seven countries, there are sixty-eight other countries that are served by Canadian representatives in a nearby country. Following are some examples of this arrangement (the representative resides in the country shown in brackets).

Afghanistan (Pakistan)
Bolivia (Peru)
Bulgaria (Yugoslavia)
Burma (Thailand)
Chad (Cameroons)
Democratic Republic of Germany (Poland)
Iceland (Norway)
Kuwait (Iran)
Mongolia (Soviet Union)
Uruguay (Argentina)

The budget for maintaining this presence around the world costs Canadians millions of dollars. In 1977-78 operation and maintenance of these missions and their personnel cost $178.5 million. Of this total $95.7 million was for salaries, $13.7 million was for moving department personnel around, and $20.5 million was spent on the acquisition of property, the construction of offices and residences, and staff accommodation.

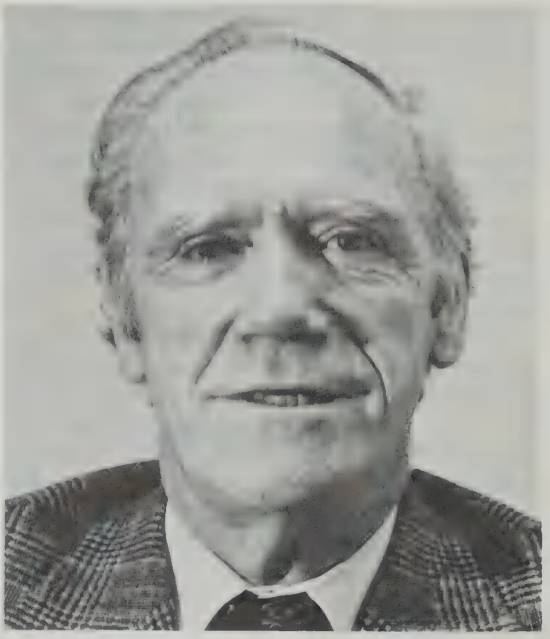
QUESTIONS

1. There are a number of reasons why Canada does not have resident ambassadors in some countries. Using the list of some of these sixty-eight countries as a guide, try to work out what some of these reasons might be.
2. "The millions of dollars Canada spends to maintain these missions abroad is well spent and is in fact a necessity." Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Explain your point of view.

Case Study no. 1 — The Honourable Mitchell Sharp

11/At Work for Canada

In this section you will read about four Canadians who, in different ways, have served Canada abroad.



Although he is no longer a Member of Parliament, Mitchell Sharp, once Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, is still in very active service for our country. He is currently heading the federal government's Northern Pipeline Agency. In this interview he told us about part of his political career.

After Mr. Trudeau became the Prime Minister I expressed some interest in the job of Secretary of State for External Affairs. I had been the Minister of Finance and when the Prime Minister was organizing his Cabinet he said to me, "I give you first choice. What would your preference be?"

I told him that I would like to try External Affairs and while he did not immediately commit himself he did indicate that he would see what could be done.

I had had a good deal of experience in international negotiations, first as the Deputy Minister of Trade and

Commerce before I entered politics; then, in 1963, when I became the Minister in that department, I was active in negotiations for the GATT and Kennedy round of trade talks.

In my second portfolio, as Minister of Finance, I had plenty of opportunities to deal with the Americans. This was a time when American policy, while not directed against Canada, had harmful effects on our country and I had to negotiate for exemptions for Canada. Their policies at that time were designed to improve their balance of payments situation yet it was quite clear to me that they couldn't improve their balance of payments problems at our expense. If they attempted to do so then the result would be negative for them since we would have to react in such a way as to nullify the effects of their actions.

While I had attended many international conferences I had never had the political experience that a man like Mr. Pearson had had when he took over the External portfolio. However, for this ministerial appointment, like all such appointments, it is very rare indeed that a minister is a professional in the department to which he is appointed.

I have often said that in a system of government such as our Canadian parliamentary system, the ministers are amateurs in the art of government but professionals in the art of politics. It is the civil servants who are the amateurs in the art of politics but the professionals in the art of government. Together they all make the system operate well.

As Minister, I was the political head of one government department. I did not run the Department of External Affairs. Like all ministers, I had neither the competence nor the time to run a government department. The Prime Minister appoints the administrative head of each department when he appoints the deputy minister who supervises the day by day activities of that department.

My task was to make the political or policy decisions for External Affairs. For example, it was my responsibility to decide when legislation should come forward from the Department, and what form it should take. The civil servants offered advice and I made the final decisions.

My second responsibility was to Parliament. Every day I appeared before the Members to answer questions. I had to be prepared for this test of my ability to be a spokesman for my particular Department.

Third, as a leading member of the party in power, I was expected to go out into the country to talk about the government as a whole and to explain its policies.

Fourth, I had to keep in mind that I had to be re-elected in my own constituency. I was at a disadvantage because I simply could not spend as much time in my riding as could an ordinary Member of Parliament. On the other hand, however, I had the advantage that I was a Minister and therefore when my constituents made requests of me I was in a much stronger position to deal with their needs. I had access to the levers of power. On the whole I have found that constituents prefer their Member to be in the Cabinet if he or she is a member of the party in power.

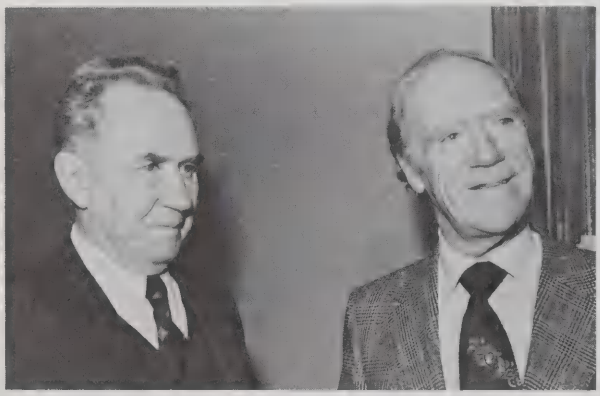
My constituents in Eglinton are a group of people who come from all over the world. In fact, as Minister of External Affairs, I had more of a special position for millions of Canadians all across the country than did almost any other minister. There are Ukrainians who have an interest on what is going on in the Ukraine and Portuguese who are keen on events in Portugal; the Jews watch Israel while the Arabs watch the Middle East, and so on. Each group makes its representation to the Minister of External Affairs and it was one of the most delicate parts of my job to be sure that I understood the interests of each of these groups within our own country. I had to keep a balance between supporting their interests and avoiding interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Believe me when I say that this used to tax my diplomatic skills!

When any group such as the Ukrainians comes to the government, and usually to the Minister of External Affairs, to say that people in their homeland are being tortured, the Minister is bound to react to that. He simply cannot say that Canada is unconcerned or that we feel we should remain silent because it is another nation's internal business only. But how to make our Canadian concerns known to the Soviet Union in the most effective way is another question.

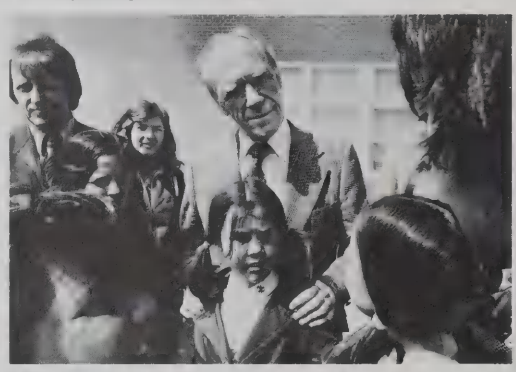
I can recall one occasion when I was asked to attend a Sunday afternoon tea party organized by a group of French-speaking Jews now living in Canada. The

Mitchell Sharp (left) with UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim

Visiting Hangchow, China



With Aleksei Kosygin, Chairman of The USSR Council of Ministers



With students of Baycrest School, Toronto

Received in Moscow by Nikolai Podgorny, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR

president of the meeting spoke to the group and said that this was a reception to honour me personally for what I had done for them. Several years before they had come to see me to ask that I protest the treatment of Jews in North Africa.

This group had left the course of action in my hands and I had decided that a public protest would not be useful. Instead I sent my ambassador in one of these countries to their government to say that we would be willing to welcome these mistreated people to Canada and eventually this was exactly what happened.

In that case a quiet diplomatic step was the appropriate action. In other instances, however, a public protest is quite justified. The protests about the Soviet trials of their citizens who criticized their government was quite proper, yet we should realize that the USSR officials do not always react as we would wish to these international pleas. In fact the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany was dismayed about these public protests because he was concerned that they would interfere with the movement of people from East Germany to the West.

Whenever I was in Ottawa, and that was most of the time, I met daily with the Deputy Minister, whose official title is still the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs. The Deputy could bring along anyone he wished if he considered that person important for our review of the developments of that day. To get my views, they reviewed all the questions of policy that had arisen or were likely to arise, since they were acting on my instructions; generally I accepted their advice on these matters.

At times, however, my judgment differed from what the Department suggested. For example, they might counsel me to be cautious in my statements on a topic yet I would conclude that it was important for Canadian views to be known and expressed in a blunt fashion.

I recall when the request came to Canada to participate in the International Control Commission in Vietnam. We had had a bad experience with the first such commission; indeed I had publicly damned it and called it a farce. Yet here we were with an invitation to participate in a second Control Commission even before we were out of the first one.

The Department's advice to me was not to accept the invitation. They feared that if we got mired in a second Commission we would only have to go through the same bad experiences that we had had with the first one. I did not accept that advice.

I concluded that Canada would participate but only for a limited period and that we would make it well known that if, as we all expected, the events were no better than our previous experience, then we would withdraw our personnel.

The civil servants were skeptical of my decision but I gave the order. We were prepared to get out of the activity after sixty days and I was deluged with requests from our NATO allies and from Japan to postpone our immediate leaving. So I agreed to extend our participation slightly, and then, much to the relief of the Department, we withdrew. This was the right political thing to do because we helped the Americans to get out of Vietnam at a most critical time for them. Canada simply could not have let its friends down.

When important matters arose there was never any difficulty in foreign ministers getting in touch with each other. While I would never phone the President in the White House, since he was a head of government, I would contact someone such as Dr. Henry Kissinger; for example, we talked when he was in disagreement with our pulling out of Vietnam. The Prime Minister would be the one to speak with the President. He, and I as Minister, from time to time spoke directly with our counterparts in other countries without going through our ambassadors.

I got to know the foreign ministers of most important countries quite well and many of them I got to know on a first name basis. Since several such people became leaders of their countries eventually I thus knew many senior leaders personally. These relationships are important because when problems arise one doesn't need to go through the preliminaries of breaking down barriers before getting right to the heart of the matter at hand. Sometimes this helps to speed up a decision for if each of us had confidence in the other then we came to expect frankness among ourselves.

Case Study no. 2 — Sharon Murphy (CUSO)

My foremost principle in foreign policy was never to mislead anyone, never to indicate that I could do something I could not do. If I honestly expressed what the difficulties were, then the other person would not be disappointed or surprised.

Major decisions are never simply worked out by senior leaders getting together for a conference. However, where the ground has been well prepared between the officials of nations, then the final decision can be modified by the national leaders in their meeting. I would never dare to commit myself to a major decision without thoroughly examining all the aspects of the matter with my Department. Some less significant aspect of a question such as when or how a decision is finally announced can be modified if one leader explains his unique circumstances to the others and they see that it could cause him some embarrassment. But major decisions are far too important to be concluded in short sessions among leaders alone. Before a summit of leaders is held, everyone has prepared well and understands the limits of the political power of the participants.

It is a good rule for these meetings, frankly, that the session is not held unless its outcome is known to the participants in advance. Otherwise terrible disappointment can be created. Should leaders hold a meeting and arouse the expectations of their citizens, and then have nothing happen, the result is worse than not holding the meeting at all.

So the "summits," the meetings of government leaders, are for the purpose of *confirming* and *emphasizing* decisions and policies!

I can look back on my career and not feel disappointed. I am not one who believes that everything will fall into place as I want it to do. I went to work when I was fourteen, before I had my high school graduation. When I finally did graduate I was quite proud of myself and it was some time before I could attend university. It was not my lifelong ambition to lead the country. I always felt rather fortunate that I managed to get as far as I did, considering the point from which I began.

Sharon Murphy is a graduate of St. Paul's School of Nursing in Saskatoon, Sask., and also holds a certificate in midwifery from Simpson Memorial Maternity Pavilion in Scotland.

Here are some extracts from a letter she sent to the Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO), the organization which sponsors her work and pays for her medical, travel and insurance expenses. Her wages are paid, at local rates, by the host government in Ghana.

November is here, and in Ghana, we are preparing for the dry season. Already the mist occasionally obliterates our view of the lake. Cocoa harvest is at its height here. In every village, bamboo mats are covered with the depodded beans to dry in the sun.

Cocoa harvest means an economic change for the better in most families. They can now afford medical treatment and our clinic statistics reflect this. It is amazing how illness can take on a seasonal aspect. Certainly malaria is more prevalent during the rainy season; but dry season breeds chronic chest and sinus infections, communicable diseases (measles, whooping cough, polio), and diseases borne by stagnant water (cholera, typhoid).

Calamity struck in August when sharp rocks broke three fairly large holes in the bottom of our boat. Until that time we had not fully appreciated the value of that means of transport. Our only alternative now — besides halting our outstation work — was to get out our hiking boots and hoof it to our weekly clinics, which is what we have been doing.

The root of the situation lies in the fact that the lake is steeped in traditional beliefs and fetish. The people strongly believe in the Twe god's existence within the lake water. Special rites, performed with permission of the Asantchene, enabled us to launch our boat last December, making it the first hollowed wood and metal craft ever to touch the sacred water. Imagine our difficulty now, trying to explain this

perfectly natural accident to those who firmly believe it to be the result of a god's anger!

Reinforcements joined us for a month in the person of two Polish medical students anxious for tropical disease experience. The time became a mutually rewarding learning experience for all concerned. One of the most interesting aspects of their stay was to see so many of my own first impressions reflected in theirs. Initially, the widespread ignorance regarding normal hygiene and the disease process appears overwhelming. The uninitiated invariably set standards that are so high that they would never be able to attain them. The inevitable happens, and compromise is accepted. Instead of sterility, one settles for scrupulous cleanliness; instead of expecting a mother to carry out all instructions to the letter, one hopes she will remember one and carry it out.

Probably the most devastating occurrence is to lose a child through the use of native medicine or the misuse of a modern drug. We encouraged our visitors through their first delivery and gave support when they lost their first patient. They in turn freely shared knowledge gained through five years of medical school.

The second week of August saw me on my way to Accra and Ho for the in-country orientation of the new CUSO volunteers. It brought to mind the fact that one year of my time in Ghana had gone already —a jolting thought when one considers that there is still so much to do before the clinic can be called established. However, every month sees us that much nearer to the fact.

Our small maternity ward has now been completed and is fully functioning. It made it necessary for me to do a month's refresher course in midwifery. I chose a hospital established over 20 years ago by a group of Anglican nuns. Besides the maternity hospital, they also run an orphanage, teachers' training college, and secondary, middle and primary schools all within the same compound. It was the orphanage that won my heart.

As you may know, Ghana has an extended family system which makes it virtually impossible for a child to be without a family. However, there are many motherless children who face great risks in the first two years of life from malnutrition and infection. The Sisters set up their orphanage to provide care for these motherless infants until an age when adult diet is well established — usually 18 months to two years. The children are taught both English and the vernacular, are fed only Ghanaian food when weaned, and play in nearby compounds. Actually, the only unusual aspects of their existence are the dormitory-like sleeping quarters and the ready availability of toys. I was overwhelmed by the warmth and gaiety of these young children and by the gratitude expressed by their families, who often visited.

In the next few weeks there will be three of us working full time at the clinic. We hope this will enable us to set up a much more comprehensive program in health teaching which will cover a wider area and more people. We hope to evaluate our established programs and re-determine priority areas. In this way, we hope to keep abreast of the growing demands on our time.

Case Study no. 3 — Marion Macpherson (Ambassador)

Miss Marion Macpherson has served Canada in many diplomatic posts. Her career with the Department of External Affairs has included service in the United States; in Ghana; in Hanoi, Vietnam, where she was a member of the International Supervisory Commission; and in Sri Lanka (Ceylon). At present she is Inspector-General of all Canadian missions abroad and she works from the Lester Pearson Building, Ottawa, the headquarters of the Department.

From 1973 to 1976 I was Canada's High Commissioner to Sri Lanka, the Asian nation known to Canada mostly because of its tea exports. My title was High Commissioner, rather than Ambassador, and our mission was called a High Commission, rather than an Embassy, because both our countries are members of the Commonwealth and we all share a unique status together as special friends in this association.

Another reason that Canada and Sri Lanka have much in common is because we offer so much aid and assistance to these people. Our country is one of the major donors of aid to Sri Lanka and I well recall how anxiously they welcomed our contributions, particularly on one occasion when there was a national flour shortage.

Late one night I was called to the shipyards when a boatload of Canadian flour arrived. It was a splendid occasion, even at the unusual hour. As I spoke briefly about the aid and Sri Lanka officially accepted the goods, the workmen continued to unload the shipment and prepare it for distribution throughout their country.

On another occasion I represented Canada by handing over 14 railway locomotives to the Ceylonese Railway Minister. To symbolize the exchange I was told to blow the whistle on one of the engines.

I felt at ease in this country because when I had been posted at the United Nations and in Washington I had met some of the Ceylonese diplomats and officials who were also in the U.S.A. So, when I moved to their country there were already people whom I knew.

Their government was often less formal than most foreign governments. Usually when a representative of one nation wishes to meet the leader of another, the ambassador notifies and works through that country's Chief of Protocol.* But in Colombo I would just phone the Prime Minister's secretary and request an appointment to see her. Whenever matters arose for discussion with the Ceylonese Minister of External Relations it was very convenient because Mrs. Bandaranaike, the Prime Minister, also held this portfolio.

My day began by 8:15 a.m. when I would arrive at the High Commission and prepare to go over the local newspapers as well as whatever items had arrived from Canada in the previous hours. Each of the diplomatic Secretaries in the mission prepared reports on his or her field of special activity and these, too, had to be reviewed.

There were often reports to be dictated from my office for Ottawa. Ceylonese events and personalities had to be interpreted for External and it was my responsibility to prepare these items. Similarly the Department's desk officer, who looked after this part of the world for External in Ottawa, might send us specific questions or requests for information which we had to consider and answer from the High Commission in Colombo.

Requests came from many local organizations such as The Child Welfare Society to have me speak or open a meeting of their group. Ceylonese have a particularly keen interest in Canada. Snow and cold weather fascinate them because they have never experienced such conditions and their requests for films about our country are among the highest number of requests of all our embassies abroad. We sent out hundreds of National Film Board prints in response.

* Protocol — rules of conduct for diplomats

Sometimes their knowledge about Canada surprised me. I found people there who knew as much about the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway as our own Canadian students should know.

The High Commission staff was small but very good. The First Secretary was responsible for development assistance in Sri Lanka and since our commitment to the Ceylonese has been so strong, this was a very important position.

There was also a diplomat whose rank was called Third Secretary. This post handled all consular, political and cultural affairs between our countries. Very few tourists came to this country but occasionally this Secretary would have to deal with a lost Canadian passport or some visiting Canadian who had run out of money.

The High Commission also had an Office Manager and two Canadian secretaries. The staff Communicator kept us in touch with Ottawa through teletype. We employed thirteen local Ceylonese in a variety of tasks from co-ordinating local programs for the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, to supervising the accounts of the High Commission, to caretaking, to assisting with the information program.

July 1 was always a special day for the staff because we held a major reception to celebrate Canada's national holiday. Much of my time, and the senior staff's time, was spent attending such receptions which every High Commission and Embassy in the capital organized on its own national day. But if one wanted representatives from these nations to come to our Canadian reception, then a Canadian delegate had to appear at their celebrations.

These large parties had a guest list of three to four hundred people and that's why many diplomats preferred the dinner parties where we all had time to talk and meet the smaller number of guests. I entertained about twice a month at my official residence.

The High Commissioner's home is a beautiful building which the Canadian government bought from a Ceylonese doctor. It is officially called Canada House now. It was here that I sometimes met visiting Canadians such as the Canada World Youth group who were in Sri Lanka to assist with local projects.

A picture of the handing-over ceremony of 14 diesel electric locomotives under CIDA aid to Sri Lanka.

Occasionally very distinguished Canadians came to the capital, Colombo. On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Colombo Plan the Canadian Minister of Health, Hon. Monique Begin, represented our government. When the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association held its international meeting in Sri Lanka, there was a large parliamentary delegation from Ottawa. On another occasion the Honourable Gerald Regan, Premier of Nova Scotia at that time, visited Sri Lanka. In each case it was my responsibility to have a dinner party and a reception for the important guests.

The fact that I was a woman never made any difference in my duties at this posting. In Sri Lanka women play key roles in politics and voluntary organizations and so it was quite natural for them to receive me well.

I was not the first woman to be an ambassador in Colombo. Both the West German and Cuban missions were headed by women while I was serving there.

I often look back on my three years in Sri Lanka and think fondly about these times. I am happy to have served Canada in this way.

Case Study no. 4 — Colonel Harper

Colonel George Harper is now a Special Assistant to the Minister of National Defence.

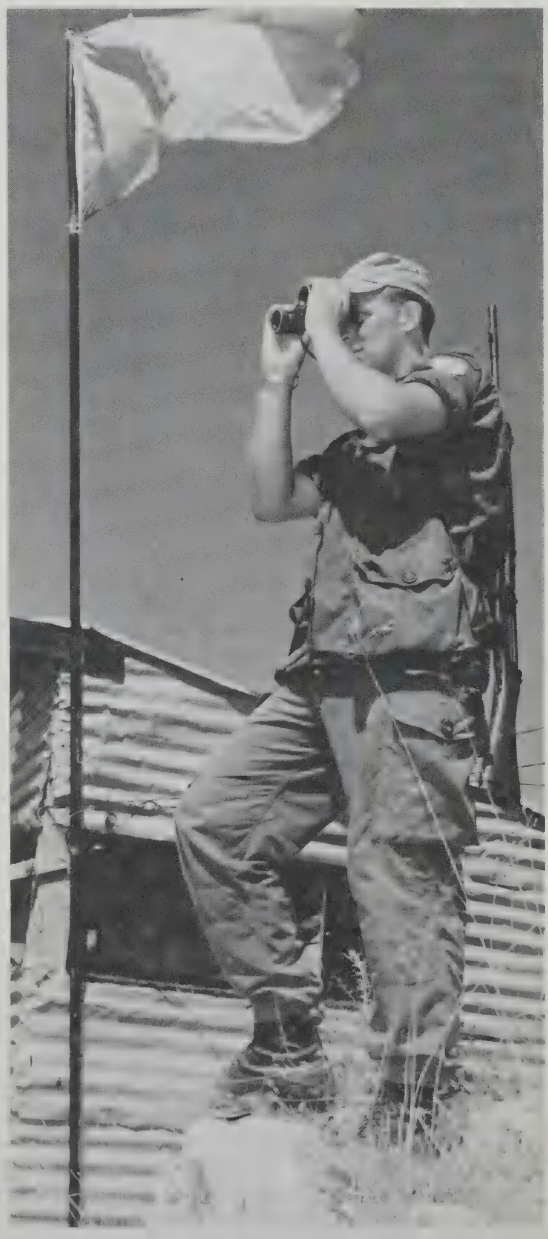
I have been involved with peacekeeping at various times for most of my career as a soldier. My experiences, both in the field and at headquarters, with operations outside the UN were with the International Control Commissions in Vietnam and in Nigeria during the civil war over Biafra. Those with the UN included Cyprus, the Middle East, serving as stand-by Operations Officer with the UN battalion, and my responsibilities in Ottawa at National Defence Headquarters and when I was on loan to the Department of External Affairs as head of the Peacekeeping and Military Assistance Division.

Peacekeeping activities vary — from unarmed observer missions to military units interposed between hostile factions. The rates of activity also vary, from fast-moving during an outbreak of fighting to quiet routine, at times boring. To counter the boredom and keep troops alert is a real challenge for a commanding officer. This is done by running vigorous programs of physical fitness, officer development courses, and training exercises to maintain their skills as professional soldiers.

The best training for peacekeeping is that for general-purpose military units. There are, however, some special aspects. For example, in normal combat operations we train for instinctive fast action; to stand and freeze is a sin. But in peacekeeping you must hold back from the immediate and instinctive move and take time to analyze all the problems and aspects of the crisis involved. You don't want to inadvertently have the two sides you are keeping apart renew fighting as a result of your actions.

Force is rarely used by a peacekeeping unit. We do not want to introduce a third force into a struggle. To do so would compromise our impartiality; we would be seen as favouring one side or the other. All ranks, from privates to the most senior officers, become involved in a great deal of negotiating.

I've always thought of the Cyprus mission as a junior leader's operation because it is at that level



Day in, day out, the UN observation in Cyprus by Canadians goes on

that the real peacekeeping is being done, at the checkpoints in the countryside and on city streets. A young officer may have to negotiate with the sides to get a factory started in production again or to ensure that the crops are harvested on time. You find people living on one side of the ceasefire line with their fields on the other side, and the peacekeeper has to arrange for the crops to be harvested or to negotiate to permit a Turkish Cypriot farmer to cross over into the Greek Cypriot territory to get his sheep, which had wandered over the country between the two factions.

Our mission in the Biafran situation was to investigate the charge of genocide*, to determine if the federal Nigerian government was conducting a policy of exterminating the Ibo tribe. Second — and this is the reason why military personnel had to be used — our task was to investigate and report on whether or not the Nigerian soldiers were under the effective control of their officers. (There had been charges of massacres and reports of actions by the Nigerian army that indicated to the world that these soldiers might not be under control.)

So this meant that rather than trying to separate the sides and stop actions from taking place, I had to go with the Nigerian army on its operations to see just how they conducted the war.

There originally was a plan for a Commonwealth peacekeeping force, since a UN force could not be sent into a civil war, but the idea didn't get very far. Still there was tremendous world pressure on the Nigerians to end the hostilities.

The Ibos, who wanted to break away and create their own country of Biafra instead of being a province of federal Nigeria, contracted their international publicity to a public-relations firm in Europe. It was, I believe, extremely effective in launching a campaign that brought the whole of North America and Europe down on the Nigerians with cries of genocide against the Biafrans. Every time one picked up a newspaper there was a picture of a starving Biafran baby or of a Nigerian soldier in action.

The head of state of Nigeria invited the governments of Canada, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and Poland to send observers to his country to assess the situation. There was no way the Nigerians themselves could answer the public accusations from around the world.

When the first Canadian observer, General Milroy, returned to Ottawa after two months of observing in Africa, he appeared before a parliamentary committee to report his conclusions. He gave evidence that in my opinion was the first objective, reasonable report to this country.

I, too, returned home and answered many people by saying that the Nigerians could have moved swiftly to end the civil war, since they had completely encircled the Biafrans. Yet they had not done so, because they hoped these people would see reason and realize they simply could not win. The Nigerians could have created a bloodbath yet they held back from that. The Biafrans were getting huge sums of money from church groups and others around the world and this gave them false hope that they could continue their struggle. It led to more loss of life.

I recall one investigation in particular. We had heard that the Nigerian army was going to attempt to capture the capital city of the state of Biafra. Because there had been earlier reports of the Nigerian airforce bombing and strafing a large hospital in that city, the observer team went with the Nigerians on their attack. Newspapers in Europe had published eyewitness accounts of many deaths and widespread destruction at the hospital because of the bombing.

We headed straight for the hospital when the city was captured. It was on eight acres of grounds and we personally covered the area thoroughly to search for any damage. We found a few bullet marks on walls, some broken windows that could have been broken by anything, and a hospital that although completely empty, was clean and tidy. We found three grenade pockmarks on the grounds. There was no way that hospital could have been attacked in the manner reported.

When we submitted our report a foreign diplomat took great exception to it, and when I asked if he had

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* *Genocide — the murder of race or tribe of people*

been there to see the site himself he said, "No, but my countryman has seen it and reported on it." When I asked to discuss it with his countryman and compare photographs I was told that his photos had either been lost or spoiled — he in fact had no evidence that could substantiate his story.

A memory that gives me great satisfaction about the peacekeeping efforts I carried out concerns one episode in particular. Thousands of Biafrans had retreated into the bush areas and set up communities in terrible conditions rather than surrender to the Nigerians who, they believed, would murder them. The Nigerians as they advanced tried to coax these refugees to come out of the bush, so that food could be provided, and to surrender peacefully without fear of harm.

Normally we did not publicize our movements. This was both for our own protection and to enable us to arrive at a Nigerian unit or operation when we were not expected and thus observe them in a normal setting, not a prepared one. But at times we did take chances and broadcast our whereabouts, when we were in areas where we thought refugees were hiding. Once we were instrumental in assisting the return to their home area of about three thousand people who had been hiding for up to a year in some of the worst conditions imaginable.

The humanitarian activities of our peacekeepers quite often go unnoticed. Schools have been built, missionaries assisted, and hospitals and orphanages supported by the voluntary efforts of our soldiers.

The troops of our contingents, being away from their families, put a lot of their energies into philanthropic work to help the local people. This kind of help is rather like joining a service club back home but the needs of the people are greater and more immediate. Seeing the direct effects of this help gives one a deep sense of satisfaction.

Peacekeeping for the professional soldier requires that he leave his family and go abroad for varying periods of time. Until recently it was not unusual for a Canadian peacekeeping officer to go on a few one-year unaccompanied tours. However, one knew that this was part of the job and always tried to get the foreign service at a time when it would best suit personal needs.

Most tours now are for six months only. This is a reasonable time for most soldiers to be away from families. Yet because we are a small force and we send many specialists to these operations, there are some unfortunates who have to go too frequently. Just last week I met a chap who was beginning his fourth six-month tour of duty in Egypt in six years. He sure had some explaining to do to his wife!

On tours that are one year or more we now usually give the individual the opportunity to take his family along with him. Many of the officers who go to the Middle East for one-year periods quite often take their families along. Schooling for families of diplomats is generally available in Israel, for example, in schools that follow American standards.

I think if we look back and consider all of our peacekeeping operations, we must agree that while we have had both successes and failures, the successes outweigh the failures.

The Interview as a Source of Information

A major source of information about events and places is people who were there. These people can, because of their experiences, provide you with ideas and feelings not available anywhere else. The section you have just completed in this book is based on this kind of source. Within your own community there are sure to be people who at one time of their lives, in one way or another, worked for Canada abroad. People like this can give you information that you will never get from books. Make arrangements for members of your class to interview these people and report back to the rest of the class.

If you are interviewing people for the first time there are probably a number of questions in your mind.

How shall I find suitable people to interview?

1. Watch the newspapers carefully. Their names often appear there.
2. Ask people who know your community well. They may know.
3. Write letters to newspapers, companies, government offices. They can probably give you names.

How do I approach the person once I've found him or her?

1. First write a letter or telephone to find out if the person is willing to give an interview.
2. If he or she agrees make sure that the interview is at a time convenient to the person you are interviewing.
3. If you want to use a tape recorder make sure that the person does not mind.
4. If you are going to use the interview in written form, tell the person you are interviewing that you will first send him or her a copy of it for approval.

What questions shall I ask?

1. Before the interview find out as much as you can about the person's life and work.
2. Find out as much as you can about the years and places that you want to discuss.
3. While you are interviewing the person encourage him or her to tell you things that he or she personally remembers.
4. A good question to start with is to ask the person to tell you about the person or experience that he or she remembers best from the years overseas.

A few reminders:

1. Be polite.
2. Do not argue.
3. Do not stay too long.
4. Write the person a letter of thanks.

When you have completed the interview and presented it to the class, you will have a first-hand view of the world that you couldn't get any other way. All it takes is a little time and effort on your part. Good luck!

Answer the following questions using your own interviews as well as the four case studies in the book.

QUESTIONS

1. For each of the previous case studies make a brief summary, in point form, to note the types of activities each person undertook.
2. (a) What personal qualities does each of these Canadians demonstrate in his or her work for Canada?

(b) Which of these different jobs do you think you could carry out most effectively yourself if you were given an opportunity to do so?

3. Are there particular policies or opinions expressed by these Canadians which seem agreeable or disagreeable to you? Be sure to offer your own comments in opposition to or support of their particular viewpoints.
4. List other types of international jobs which Canadians carry out.

12/ A Billion and More: Foreign Aid

Canadians give about one billion dollars a year through their government in foreign aid. Many millions more dollars come from private organizations through the funds they raise from the public.

Is this money well spent? What, if anything, should we expect in return? Why do we spend so much on other people?

These are the three controversial questions associated with Canada's foreign aid program and they are the basic issues you should consider in this section about our international assistance programs.

Introduction

1. Try to convince a poor man that he must submit to every sort of privation while his neighbour has what he needs and you will have to kill him.

   — *Chateaubriand, 18th century philosopher*

2. The gut issue is Canada's concern for the hungry and poor in other nations. How much are we willing to sacrifice in order to help our less fortunate brothers?

   — *Eugene Whelan, former Minister of Agriculture*

3. Give a man a fish and he will eat it. Give him the tools and training to fish and he will feed himself, his family and others.

   — *Chinese proverb*

4. Canadians throw out 300 pounds (136 kg) of food scraps per person per year.

5. A child born in the Third World today has a life expectancy of 35 years.

6. Help.

7. Never before in history has the disparity between the rich and the poor, the comfortable and the starving, been so extreme; never before have mass communications so vividly informed the sufferers of the extent of their misery. Never before have the privileged societies possessed weapons so powerful that their employment in the defence of privilege would destroy the haves and the have-nots indiscriminately.

   — *Pierre Elliott Trudeau*

i) Canadian Aid — Some Case Studies

What follow are five reports on programs sponsored by CIDA, the Canadian International Development Agency, an organization created by Parliament to conduct the development aid programs funded by the federal government. CIDA distributes aid in many forms, from scholarships to grants for machinery, from emergency relief to technical advice. About 55 percent of its money goes directly from our country to another specific country (bilateral aid) while 45 percent is distributed through organizations such as the United Nations which deal with many nations (multilateral aid).

With over one billion dollars to spend annually CIDA is naturally a target for much attention and often criticism. Not all the projects it supports work out the way they are originally planned; some become embarrassing failures. Perhaps it is best to recognize that in any human effort, including the ones we undertake ourselves, there are always failures and successes. But CIDA has become a special target for publicity because of the money spent on its programs. And, of course, people have tended to emphasize its failures rather than its accomplishments.

Trucks To Sudan

One of five dump trucks and a van recently sent by CIDA for the Sudan southern roads maintenance project ending in 1980. The $1.7 million grant includes $1 million for machinery (bulldozers and graders have already been sent) and the remainder for technical staff.

Nigerians to train in Canadian technical schools

Five hundred Nigerian students will arrive in Canada this fall to receive technical training at community colleges and universities across the country. The training has been arranged under a five-year agreement recently signed by the Canadian Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce (ITC) and the Nigerian Federal Ministry of Education.

The Nigerian government will pay the full costs of training, maintenance, and administration for 500 students a year until 1983, and ITC estimates that revenue for Canada will be about $5 million a year. At the request of the Nigerian government, the ad-

ministration of the program has been contracted to the Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE).

Nigeria has prospered in recent years because of its petroleum exports. For this reason, CIDA has been phasing out its assistance programs in Nigeria. The country's education system has not been able to keep pace with the rapidly growing economy and the government predicts a need for thousands of technically trained people in the next decade.

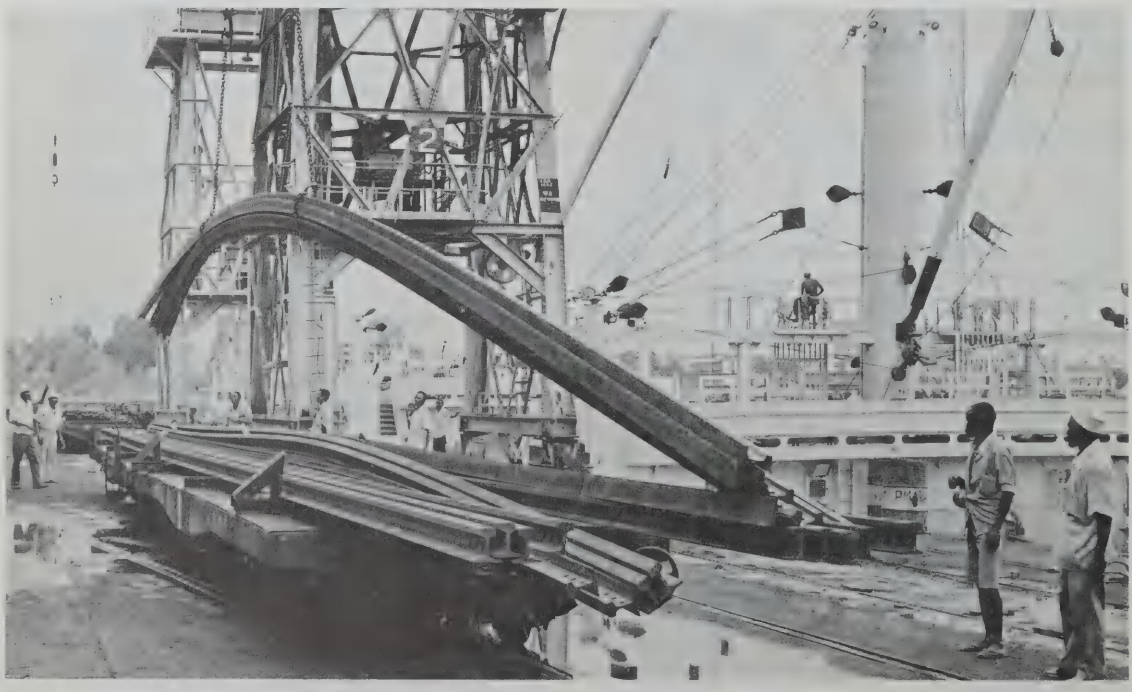
Tanzanian project augmented by Agriculture Canada

Agriculture Canada is hiring three farmers with experience in dryland wheat production and three diesel mechanics to provide special expertise for three 4000-hectare wheat research farms in Tanzania.

The farms, in the northern highlands of the East African country, were established in 1971 by the government of Tanzania with the assistance of the Canadian International Development Agency.

Agriculture Canada personnel are sharing Canadian production methods and experience with Tanzanians at the three farms. Each Canadian scientist and technician on the project has a Tanzanian counterpart in training.

The Tanzanian government wanted Canadian wheat-growing know-how because the highland soils and precipitation are similar to those on the Canadian prairies.



Dockworkers unload 80-ft. rail sections from the Sydney Steel Corporation (Sydney, N.S.) to be used in the rebuilding of a 180-mile rail line in central Tanzania.

Petro-Can and CIDA aiding Pakistan's oil and gas sector

Under the terms of an innovative agreement involving CIDA, Petro-Canada, and the Pakistan government's oil and gas agency, Canada will play a key role in the development of Pakistan's promising oil and gas reserves.

The Pakistan government, specifically the Oil and Gas Development Corporation (OGDC), asked Canada to provide the required technical expertise and equipment through Petro-Canada, because of its similarity to its counterpart, the OGDC.

Petro-Canada is not involved in any investment program, but will provide some technical expertise from its own sources as well as drawing on consultants from the private sector. Specific projects will be identified which could result in an oil and gas development program involving about $70 million in CIDA financing for three to five years.

Belizean fishermen to train in Nova Scotia

The government of Nova Scotia is co-operating with CIDA to assist fishermen from Belize to upgrade their knowledge of fisheries techniques and navigation.

Twenty fishermen from Belize are attending an eight-week course from August 21 to October 14 at the Fisheries Training Centre at Pictou, Nova Scotia. CIDA is underwriting the travel expenses of the trainees while Nova Scotia is providing the training expertise.

Belize, formerly known as British Honduras, is a tiny nation located along the eastern coast of Central America. Fishing is an integral part of the country's way of life. There are five co-operatives managing the fishing industry. More than 80 percent of the catch is exported — mainly to the United States.

Until now, there has been little formal training for Belizean fishermen. While in Nova Scotia, the fishermen will receive training in navigation, deep-sea fishing techniques, maintenance and repair of engines, and net-mending.

The 20 candidates chosen for the training are highly successful fishermen and it is hoped that they will share their training experience with other fishermen in Belize.

New Brunswickers sent on Honduran forestry project

Forest protection officers from New Brunswick will help develop a system to prevent and fight forest fires in Honduras. Their work will be funded by CIDA as part of a $1.2 million grant for forest protection in that country.

The aim of the project is to reduce fire damage to 1 percent of current losses in intensive protection areas. The grant also provides for training in Canada of Hondurans, establishment of protection laws, and a program to sensitize rural populations to the need for protecting the forests.

About 80 percent of Honduras' forests — the major natural resource — is unprotected and suffers annual losses. The New Brunswick team will spend three years establishing a modern system of administration and communications to detect and extinguish fires, primarily over an area of a million hectares in the Olancho forest.

From Development Directions, *August/September 1978*

ii) Foreign Aid That Really Works

A student from the National Forestry School at Siguetapeque, Honduras

One Canadian who has studied CIDA and Canadian assistance programmes carefully is Douglas Roche, Member of Parliament for Edmonton-Strathcona. Here are some excerpts from an article he wrote called "Foreign Aid That Really Works."

For 3-1/2 hours, my Bengali friend Rahat Uddin Ahmed and I bounced along Bangladesh's No. 1 Highway in a Landrover. The early evening sky was black when he finally stopped in the jungle, 60 miles out of Dacca. "Follow me," said Rahat as he hopped out.

We had gone scarcely 300 yards along a winding trail before I found myself in a cluster of mud huts: the village of North Rampur. About 30 men stood waiting for us. They greeted Rahat warmly and led us into a small thatched hut where we sat on wooden benches under a single light bulb.

As I listened to their story, I was struck by their obvious respect and affection for Rahat. They had been landless peasants, broke, disorganized and despondent before he came to the village and persuaded them that they must work together and help themselves. Under his guidance, they pooled their labor and they were soon vaccinating cattle, raising chickens and stocking two fish tanks. In a year, their credit union had accumulated $1800, which was lent to three members to buy a little land. Then the group bought ten cows, later selling them for a profit. Now, they said, they were negotiating to lease one acre of land for each member of the cooperative to work, one third of the proceeds going to the landlord and two thirds to them.

Self-Financing. What I was hearing about was a new kind of Canadian aid in action. Since 1974, Rahat, a 32 year-old economics graduate, and some 300 other young Bengali men have been trained to go into the villages to teach the inhabitants new skills and organize them into self-help groups. And more are being trained, in classes of 20 at a time. Known as

Proshika (a Bengali acronym for Leadership Training Center), this program was started by Raymond Cournoyer, Asian field representative for the Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO). It is based on the simple but oft-ignored premise that the best kind of aid is aid that shows people how to do things better for themselves.

The Canadian government commitment, in funds supplied by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), began with a modest $75 000, and will total $533 500. Eventually, *Proshika* will finance itself. During a recent six-week tour of Asia, I did not see a better use of Canadian aid.

Poor Image. Yet foreign aid is in bad odour here at home. Many Canadians look upon our present foreign-aid budget of $1.1 billion as money pitched into a bottomless hole. When the government cut foreign-aid spending from 0.56 down to 0.46 percent of the Gross National Product last year — thus letting it slip even farther below the UN target of 0.7 percent — not a protest was heard.

One reason, of course, is that some spectacular blunders have given foreign aid a poor image. In 1974, CIDA bought a fishing vessel for $175 000 to be used in a training program in Colombia. It cost CIDA $628 000 to refurbish and convert it into a school and research ship. Various tests then demonstrated that the vessel was unstable when fully loaded, and Colombia turned down the gift. It was subsequently determined, however, that the tests themselves had been faulty. . . .

In another case, construction of a poultry-processing plant in Dominica had to be abandoned because a local group had built a plant in the time between CIDA's approval and the arrival of the equipment from Canada. In Indonesia, I saw the footings of a CIDA bridge that had collapsed; a Canadian supervisor was not empowered to overrule what he knew was the bad judgment of a local engineer using weak material.

On balance, such horror stories distort public appraisal of CIDA, which manages some 1000 projects in 70 countries at any one time. More serious has been the 1976 report of the Auditor General of Canada, who criticized the unsatisfactory state of financial control in CIDA.

CIDA's new president, career diplomat Michel Dupuy, has set out to improve the agency's credibility and management. Gone are the lavish luncheons and first-class flights. CIDA now has in place a "well-balanced plan" for tightening up its management.

Cart Before the Horse. Underlying public skepticism about the management of our foreign-aid effort, however, is the largest question of all: Does Canadian aid, by and large, help the people it is intended for? Some projects have motivated people to take development into their own hands and Canadian aid policies are moving, slowly, in this direction.

But the decisions about big CIDA expenditures are still heavily influenced by the idea of benefits for Canada. Of the more than $963 million paid out in 1976, 49.59 percent went into direct country-to-country aid, mostly capital equipment made in Canada; and two-thirds of this bilateral aid *must* be spent in Canada. For the rest, 43.25 percent is spent through United Nations agencies, leaving, after administration and research expenses, less than 7 percent for agencies such as CUSO, which specialize in foreign aid that gets right to the people.

Unfortunately, the priorities of government spending — of both the receivers and the donors of foreign aid — are still the big, glamorous capital projects. One of our major gifts to Bangladesh, for instance, has been an $8 million satellite station which plugs Bangladesh into international telecommunications. Yet there are only 90 000 telephones in that land of 80 million people, and only 38 000 TV sets. What's worse, 81 percent of the population lives in villages that do not have adequate water supplies by Western standards. The cart has clearly been put before the horse.

Even food aid fails to be of real help. About three-quarters of Canada's $47 million aid to Bangladesh is in the form of food. The food goes principally into the national food chain, where it is sold, not given away, to ration-card holders. This system provides subsidized food on a priority basis to the military, police and civil servants first, then to the five major urban areas and finally to the rural areas. Sister Pauline, a Holy Cross missionary in a clinic near

Chittagong, told me, "We often see malnourished mothers who have never heard of food aid."

Too many people delude themselves that foreign aid can cure poverty. When it fails to do so, they question the validity of CIDA programs. But disaffection is no reason for us to turn our backs on these desperate problems. Nor are we excused by the fact that Canadian aid can supply only a fraction of the needs of the underdeveloped countries. We have a moral obligation to do what we can.

So what *can* we do? We can certainly insist that Canada follow policies genuinely designed to help close the gap between rich nations and poor. We must face the fact that aid by itself will *never* be an adequate response to the global poverty problem. There will have to be world trade and monetary reforms that enable developing nations to earn more from the export of their own commodities.

A serious effort to help Bangladesh, for example, would concentrate not on donating food but on improving conditions for jute productivity, where the country's development future lies. I went to the largest jute* mill in the world, employing 30 000 workers, and saw the overwhelming importance of jute to the Bangladesh economy. But, unless Western nations reduce discriminatory quotas and tariffs that protect synthetic products, the prospects for jute are not good.

On a more human scale, we can help the people themselves by insisting that more of Canada's aid go to community development of the kind that I have seen in Bangladesh and Indonesia. We could even *reduce* our foreign-aid budget and spend it more effectively if a higher proportion went to train people to take their lives in their own hands.

Foreign aid doesn't need to be big. And it can be beautiful.

From "Foreign Aid That *Really* Works" by Douglas Roche, M.P., *Reader's Digest,* February 1978

QUESTIONS

1. One of the quotations at the beginning of this section poses a question: "Why should Canada, with a million unemployed and high inflation, give millions of tax dollars in foreign aid?" How do you answer this question?
2. One of the reasons Canada has been so active in supporting nations such as Sri Lanka and Tanzania is that these are Commonwealth nations. What other guidelines would you recommend be our country's basic rules to decide whether any particular nation which requests our foreign aid dollars should be assisted?
3. One of the major decisions in foreign aid is what form this aid will take for particular countries. This section has illustrated many different kinds. Make a list of different types of aid and decide for yourself which kinds seem to be most effective.
4. In the past, there have been some serious problems in our attempts to provide aid for Third World countries. List some of these from Douglas Roche's article. What precautions could be taken, both by Canada and by the country receiving this aid, to avoid these problems in the future?
5. The case studies mentioned in this section may seem rather minor and even insignificant when one considers the entire economic and social structures of each country which we have helped. However, one might also consider such projects to be like stones thrown into a pool of water; little splashes but with lots of ripples.

What "spin-off" or secondary effects might follow from the initial steps taken as a result of programs such as these?

* *Jute — a fibre used for sacking, carpet backing, etc.*

13/Canadian Business in the World

Investment by Canadian businesses around the world is a major factor in the role our country plays in global affairs. In 1898, the President of the Canadian Bankers' Association spoke to his group's annual meeting and bluntly told them that he wanted to see good returns on their money invested overseas. He said:

> Are we not part and parcel of an Empire that is world wide? Can we do nothing to stimulate and encourage trade within the Empire? Of what use is the shedding of blood on the sands of Africa or the snows of the Himalayas if nothing is to come of their sacrifice but military glory?

At that time neither Canadians nor the conquered peoples spoke out against such a proposal. Seventy years later, however, there were riots in the Caribbean over the extent of Canadian investment and the unfair treatment which the Trinidadians and the Guyanese accused Canadian banks of bringing to their islands. In the first of the following articles you have a report from Port of Spain, Trinidad, about this situation. The second item is a contemporary case study concerning Bell Canada International, which is sharing its technology and manpower with the expanding Ministry of Telephone in Saudi Arabia.

The Manager of the Royal Bank of Canada in Port of Spain was imperturbable, cool as Clive in India, in a startling new role for Canadians in the Caribbean: that of the colonialist under siege. When riots erupted in the Trinidad capital on April 21, 1970 he simply shut the bank, sent his staff home . . . and went to play golf.

On that same day, as strident placards denounced Canadian "racism" and crowds shouted for the expulsion of foreigners, a Canadian diplomat warned, "Now don't exaggerate that fuss out there." What was he going to do? "I'm going to choir practice, as usual."

The diplomat never got to choir practice. A curfew kept him off the streets. . . . The banker was recalled from the fairways to board up his bank's broken

windows. Despair, bred of poverty, had finally rebelled at the sight of the affluence beside it, the affluence mostly of the foreign and the local light-skinned. Economic nationalism, black nationalism, is moving through the Commonwealth Caribbean, where a startled Canada finds itself a dominant power in the economies of 4.5 million people. That nationalism flared because 10 West Indian students had been fined $33 500 in Montreal for destroying the $2-million computer centre at Sir George Williams University.

In Trinidad and Guyana, "they think the trial was just a monkey trial," says Blair Humphreys, a chemistry-teaching volunteer of the Canadian University Service Overseas in Port of Spain. Anti-Canadian protests in Trinidad led to stormy Black Power demonstrations, which led in turn to an army revolt. The revolt failed, but "the atmosphere has soured on us ever since," says a Caribbean expert in External Affairs in Ottawa. This, combined with Canada's economic role, meant: "We're not colonialists by intent, but by circumstances we've taken on a neocolonialist aura there."

In the thick of the riots, *Maclean's* sent reporter C. Alexander Brown to Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana and Jamaica to report their present feelings about Canada's singular role. Brown, a black Canadian, born in Jamaica, reported first from Port of Spain.

"I walked from the diplomat-choirmaster's office into a mob of young men. They ripped the film from my camera. Then one said: 'Get the hell out of here.' Before I did, he added, 'Sorry man, but people are tired of the whole damn situation . . . violence is the only way!'

"My lost pictures had captured some of the reasons for and manifestations of their anger: Independence Square, with Canadian banks dominating three of its corners; posters denouncing foreign economic control; students marching with older men who have not known work for 10 and 20 years."

Brown found other friction points. All signal less comfortable relations between Canadians and the Caribbean countries:

Trinidad-Tobago — One million population; average per capita income $850 a year; unemployment 20-30%; under-employment immense. Says Brown: "I walked through Canadian banks and found they hire Trinidadians all right, but mostly the white and the light-skinned ones — there are very few black bodies in management chairs."

Guyana — 750 000; per capita income $250 a year; unemployment 15%; under-employment immense. Prime Minister Forbes Burnham's government plans to take over 51% of Aluminium Company of Canada's $130-million bauxite-mining operation over an indefinite period. Burnham, running ahead of most Caribbean radicals, is setting a possible future pattern in the West Indies for dealing with foreign investment. The policy is: "We will control our own resources."

The friction is inescapable simply because, as a Trinidadian cabinet minister puts it, "Canada's presence is so massive." Canada's $600-$900 million private investment includes $300 million by Alcan to extract bauxite from Jamaica and Guyana. Alcan is the largest single industry in both nations. Canadian banks control from 60-90% of the banking in Commonwealth Caribbean countries; they've been there for up to 80 years. Canada is big in insurance, real estate, hotels and resorts.

Canada has grown to its present importance in Caribbean nations, partly because they have needed us. The islands lack the resources to live alone. Britain is pulling out and, like the United States, has closed the old safety valve of emigration.

There are other complaints. Canada's aid terms are said to be stiff — this is supported by diplomats and aid workers in Ottawa. Alcan and the banks and insurance companies are accused of rarely permitting local ownership, not reinvesting sufficient profits in the West Indies, failing to hire local people in sufficient numbers for responsible jobs.

From "O Canada, He Stands on Guard For Thee" by Courtney Tower and C. Alexander Brown, *Maclean's,* July 1970

ii) Bell Canada in Saudi Arabia: A Case Study

Early in 1978 Bell Canada announced that its International company had concluded an agreement with the government of Saudi Arabia. The value of the contract was more than one billion dollars and its terms made it the largest and most unusual agreement ever signed by a Canadian company.

Saudi Arabia is just about the size of Quebec and Ontario together, and just about as varied. It has its mix of crowded cities, scattered towns and little villages, its green hills and beach-rimmed seaside. Most of us, however, think only of its desert core where the summer temperatures are unpleasantly hot.

Above all else Saudi Arabia has one commodity for which the world pays well — oil. Now, with the enormous reserves it can sell, the country has been amassing huge profits. Some of this money is being spent on modernizing the country; in fact, one recent visitor to Riyadh, the capital city, remarked that the whole nation resembled a giant construction site.

To expand and improve the telephone system the Saudi government indicated that it would accept bids from major international telecommunication corporations. Our country's industry won.

The project is a two-part construction program that will first be undertaken by a Swedish and a Dutch company. Then comes the project Bell Canada will manage. In all, half a million new lines will be added to the 200 000 lines already existing in the Middle East kingdom.

Telephones in Saudi Arabia are operated by the Ministry of Post, Telephone and Telegraph, and Bell proposed that the new system should come under a government-owned company which it would help to organize and manage. Bell will provide the training for six thousand new Saudi employees in managerial, administrative and technical positions. Some Saudi Arabians will also come to Canada for training just as many Bell employees will go to their country to offer assistance.

The Saudis insisted that no Jews come to their country as employees of Bell International. Because the Arab nations are boycotting Israel they demand that no Jews be part of a contract which they sign with any international corporation. BCI was very careful with this sensitive issue and took care to explain their restrictions to the Canadian Human Rights Commission.

Bell prepared their employees to live in a Moslem country. A compound had to be constructed for the Canadians and the families who will be living in the Middle East for two-year periods. Bachelor and family accommodation, recreational and restaurant facilities, a food store, library, medical dispensary and even a rare swimming pool were built in a new Canadian community.

All the engineers and technicians attended special classes to learn about the Arab way of life. Saudi traditions are very different from our own and each of the Canadian families must respect the Moslem customs. Drinking and dating, for example, are forbidden. Women may not drive automobiles. Neither may they walk on the streets alone or wear revealing clothing.

The punishment for anyone who breaks these rules is harsh and no exceptions are ever made for foreigners. One Canadian visitor was recently whipped in public as his punishment for carrying liquor while touring in a Moslem country.

Does all this Western influence change the country when hundreds of foreigners arrive in search of the oil dollars?

Hank St. Louis, from Bell's Quebec Region, has been in and out of Saudi Arabia half a dozen times in the last eighteen months and he notices changes.

"There's even a Colonel Sanders, now, and a Chinese restaurant too. Yes, you can get frustrated over things like flight delays but every time I go back things seem to improve. A few more hotels. More buildings. More roads . . ."

The symbol of the vast five-year telephone expansion program Bell Canada is directing in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia — the palm tree and the telecommunications tower.

A Bell Canada manager in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia confers with a Saudi Telephone Company test centre director.

A test centre in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, where Bell Canada personnel are organizing the Saudi Telephone Company.

iii) Issues and Answers

Issue no. 1

In the past, Canada's help to other countries has taken the form of both "tied" and "untied" aid. Tied aid brings help in the form of Canadian *products* and *services*. Untied aid brings help in the form of Canadian *money*, for products and services that may be purchased from any country. In the past few years a growing proportion of Canadian aid has been untied. Which kind of aid should Canada give? This is a very important question for the Canadian business community.

The best way to understand this issue is to put yourself in the position of the various people most concerned with the question.

1. Write a letter from a Canadian businessman to the Canadian government giving the reasons why you think aid should be tied.
2. Write a letter from an official in a Third World country to the Canadian government giving reasons why you think aid should be untied.
3. Write a letter from the Canadian government, one copy to go to each of the above individuals, giving your decision on this question.

Issue no. 2

After his election victory in 1979, Prime Minister Clark said that he would carry out a promise he made during the election campaign to move the Canadian embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Because of the political situation in the Middle East and the continuing question about who owns Jerusalem, Arab countries opposed the move and threatened to end certain business arrangements and deals with Canadian companies if the move went ahead. Strong pressure was exerted on Prime Minister Clark to stop the proposed move. Should Canadian business interests affect foreign policy? Should the government act as it thinks best, independent of business?

1. Write a speech that Prime Minister Clark might deliver in which he explains his intention to go ahead with the move as planned.
2. Write a speech that Prime Minister Clark might deliver in which he explains his decision not to move the embassy.

QUESTIONS

1. Much of what other countries think of Canada is based on what Canadian businesses do in these countries. Discuss and then draw up a list of rules for Canadian companies abroad to follow so as to give Canada a good image in foreign countries. Can you think of any situations where the impression of Canada will be bad no matter what rules businesses follow?
2. In the articles on Canada in the Caribbean and Bell Canada in Saudi Arabia, there is evidence that there are both advantages and disadvantages for a developing nation when a foreign corporation establishes some of its business within that country. Can you think of some of these advantages and disadvantages?
3. Look for business and industry personnel in your community who have had business experience representing their companies in other countries. Try to arrange for such people to speak to your class, or else use the interviewing skills you learned earlier in this book to bring their experiences back to the rest of your class.

14/The Spy Game

Spying? In Canada?
Canadians find it hard to believe that our country has been described as a very active region for espionage activities. In fact, a British body, The Institute for the Study of Conflict, published an article in 1978 reporting that "Canada is ripe for subversion!" and that foreign agents may be working quietly here to exploit our national problems and seek out information useful to their own governments.

In this section you will read about Soviet intelligence activities in Canada. In the first item a retired RCMP espionage expert discusses how foreign agents operate in our country. The second selection is a case study of a spy mission which was operating here in 1977.

William H. Kelly served with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police for thirty-six years. In the last decade of his career he was directly responsible for counter-espionage, counter-subversion and internal security of our country.

What secrets does Canada have that make it a target for foreign intelligence services?

To begin with, there is high government policy in many areas that Soviet bloc governments would like to know about. These include the location of NORAD missile sites, the troop strength the Canadian forces has allotted to certain NATO duties, and the plans Canada has for purchasing military equipment.

They're also interested in what Canada knows about the military and scientific capabilities of other countries. Our embassy in Washington, for example, probably has valuable information on the U.S. contribution to NORAD. We undoubtedly have information on other countries that the Soviets would find useful, since Canadian diplomatic missions need a certain amount of knowledge about the countries in which they are stationed in order to carry on Canada's business abroad.

This knowledge may be economic, scientific, technical, political or military. It may concern a proposed wheat deal or a proposed sale or purchase of armaments. Whatever the information gathered, it is sent back to Ottawa in the form of reports, and the reports, together with the secrets contained in them, are carried to Ottawa by diplomatic couriers, who are always targets for hostile intelligence services.

Which foreign intelligence services are the main threat to Canada? Judging from the disclosures made in recent years, those of the Soviet bloc. They are the most active foreign intelligence agencies in Canada, and of them, the busiest are the Russian, Polish and Czechoslovakian.

The largest by far is the Russian Intelligence Service, commonly referred to as the RIS. I cannot give out

the strength of the RIS in Canada, but I can tell you this: Russia's embassy and consulates here would be much smaller without the RIS agents who are in Canada to engage in hostile intelligence activity.

The RIS is made up of two parts, the KGB or civilian side; and the GRU or military side. Their representatives work out of the same embassies, but there is keen rivalry over the amount of information they gather in their respective fields, and they normally work independently.

The KGB is much larger than the GRU and is considered senior to it. The KGB collects information of all kinds, classified and unclassified. In the latter category, strategic and technical information — such as production techniques and the use of scientific data — is collected with great enthusiasm. Its value to Russian industry should not be underrated. However, in an open society such as ours, there isn't much a security service can do about it.

The KGB is also responsible for checking on Russian-Canadian ethnic groups, to make sure there are no movements developing within them that are against the interests of the Soviet Union. This is done in fairly open contact, under the guise of developing friendship between Canadians of Russian origin and their former homeland. They are extending, in a way, the work of their colleagues back in Russia, who have always kept an eye on the populace to avoid the overthrow of the government.

Officers of hostile intelligence services naturally are not listed as such on the official diplomatic list — they occupy ordinary diplomatic, commercial and consular positions, and they try to do enough legitimate work so as not to make their real purpose too obvious. In the security world they are known as "legal" agents.

Incidentally, it is said that the famous Moscow Dynamo soccer team is made up of KGB employees.

The head of the KGB in a country is known as the "resident," and his spy group is called the *rezidentura.* The resident might be a high embassy official. Another member might even be a chauffeur.

But it is difficult, if not impossible, for them to hide their real purpose in any country because they do not spend as much time in the embassies as they ordinarily would.

It's obvious too, that their movements are those of people trained in intelligence work. They usually travel by the most indirect route to any place. In the capital, *en route* from their embassy to downtown Ottawa along Rideau Street, they might detour through stores like Freiman's or Ogilvy's. They're always checking to see if they're being followed.

Sometimes these agents are declared *persona non grata.* This means they are asked to leave the country on very short notice because they have conducted operations dangerous to Canadian interests (sometimes the request is made publicly; sometimes not).

Some agents complete their tours of duty without being disturbed, even though it is known that they are agents. It is often of more value to a security service to observe an agent at work than to send him home. We can study his technique, and identify his contacts. Some agents who have returned home thinking they have completed successful tours, have had — from the Russian point of view — really disastrous tours.

ii) A Case from the RCMP Files

The following is a true story taken from Canadian espionage files. The events occurred between April 1977 and January 1978 in seven meetings between the Soviet agents and the RCMP officer.

The Spies

—Igor P. Vartanian, First Secretary responsible for Sports and Culture, Soviet Embassy, Ottawa. Principal agent in this mission
—Vladimir L. Souvorov, Second Secretary, Soviet Embassy, Ottawa
—Oleg D. Reztsov, Attache, Soviet Embassy, Ottawa
—Vera A. Reztsov, employed in the library of the Soviety Embassy
—Vladimir I. Oshkaderov, translator, International Civil Aviation Organization, Montreal
—Andrei V. Krysin, economist, Soviet Foreign Trade Office, Ottawa
—seven other employees of the Soviet Embassy, Ottawa

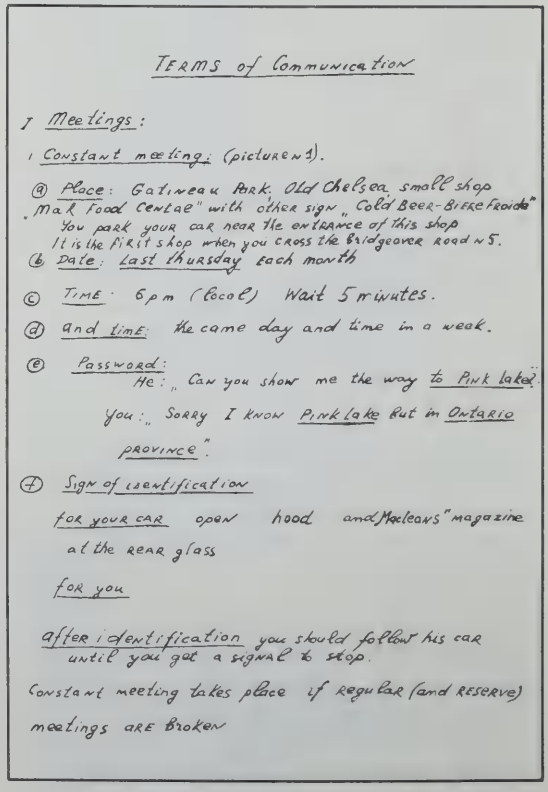
The Canadian

—an RCMP member who is still unidentified to protect him against possible harm from other sources within Canada. Early in 1977 two Soviet intelligence officers approached this man and offered him an unlimited sum of money to spy for them. This member of the force had, on an earlier posting and in the normal course of his responsibilities, come into occasional contact with one of the Soviet officials in this case. To establish the ultimate purpose of the Soviet approach the member of the force was authorized by the RCMP, under carefully controlled circumstances, to meet with the main agent, Mr. Vartanian, following the instructions he had received from two Soviet officials.

The Assignment

1. to secure information on how the RCMP operates against Soviet intelligence services in Canada
2. to secure information on RCMP personnel
3. to secure information on RCMP counter-espionage cases

The Instructions



TERMS of Communication

1 Meetings:

1 Constant meeting: (picture n°1).

ⓐ Place: Gatineau Park: Old Chelsea, small shop „Mark Food Centre" with other sign „Cold Beer-Bière froide" You park your car near the entrance of this shop It is the first shop when you cross the Bridgeover Road n°5.

ⓑ Date: Last Thursday each month

ⓒ TIME: 6 p.m (recod) Wait 5 minutes.

ⓓ and time: the same day and time in a week.

ⓔ Password:
He: „Can you show me the way to Pink lake"
You: „Sorry I know Pink Lake but in Ontario province".

ⓕ Sign of identification
for your car open hood and „Macleans" magazine at the rear glass
for you

after identification you should follow his car until you get a signal to stop.

Constant meeting takes place if regular (and reserve) meetings are broken

The Money

The Soviet agents paid the Canadian $30 500 in several instalments for the material which he gave them. This material consisted of films showing carefully selected and sometimes even false information.

The Canadian Reaction

Here are portions of a statement given by former Secretary of State for External Affairs, Don Jamieson, in the House of Commons on February 9, 1978. Mr. Jamieson also cancelled his plans to visit the USSR a few months thereafter.

> At noon today, on my instructions, the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs requested the Ambassador of the Soviet Union to withdraw 11 Soviet nationals from Canada for engaging in inadmissible activities in violation of the Official Secrets Act and of course of their status in Canada. Two other Soviet nationals who were involved have already departed Canada but will not be permitted to return. A strong protest has been conveyed to the Soviet authorities about these activities.
>
> The Soviet Ambassador was informed that the Canadian Government had irrefutable evidence that all 13 persons had been involved in an attempt to recruit a member of the RCMP in order to penetrate the RCMP Security Service.
>
> The fact that the Canadian was paid $30 500 for information of no consequence provides an indication of the importance the Soviet intelligence service attached to this operation. The important point for the House to note, however, is that this case has involved no compromise of Canada's security.
>
> This Soviet recruitment attempt is nevertheless a source of serious concern to the Government. Its importance should be seen in the context of the unusual lengths to which the Soviet intelligence service was prepared to go to suborn a member of the RCMP. The case did not have any other implications for Canada's security. The evidence derived from this operation indicates that it was directed solely against the RCMP.
>
> The firm action taken by the Government in this case will remind the Soviet Union of our determination to deter foreign espionage. The Government regrets that activities of this kind should be conducted at a time when there are efforts under way, to which both Canada and the Soviet Union have subscribed, to reduce the level of international tensions by overcoming mistrust and increasing confidence. Activities such as those I have disclosed to the House are contrary to that objective and represent a serious setback in our bilateral relations. This incident and the action we have had to take today will inevitably place strains on our relations with the Soviet Union. Nevertheless the Canadian Government continues to attach importance to Canadian-Soviet relations and hopes the Soviet Government does likewise.

Debriefing

The four most active members of the spy ring were ordered out of Canada within forty-eight hours. Seven others had to leave within two weeks while two agents who were already away from Canada were instructed not to return. This was the largest group of embassy personnel ever expelled from Canada in our nation's history.

In Moscow the official government news agency, TASS, reported the expulsion and blamed it on opponents of peaceful co-existence between Canada and the Soviet Union. In particular it suggested that there was an anti-Soviet campaign masterminded by Canada's "Special Services."

Robert Ford, Canada's ambassador to the Kremlin, predicted that the episode would not have lasting consequences for relations between the two countries. He admitted that some of his staff were nervous lest the Soviet government retaliate and accuse Canadians working at the embassy in Moscow of activities similar to those conducted by the agents in Ottawa. In the past the Russians have often expelled diplomats from the countries where their own personnel have been put out.

Jeff Sallot, a reporter for the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, called our ambassador in Moscow to seek his reaction to the mission. Mr. Sallot reported that throughout their telephone interview there were clicking noises on the line. Mr. Ford refused to speculate about what these interrupting sounds were.

RCMP Inspector John Poirier in Ottawa praised the Canadian officer for his work, particularly because he was able to convince the Russians that he was co-operating with them. He also commented that while the methods used by the spies were sophisticated, they were not uncommon.

Various national journals devoted coverage to the story and there was much speculation about the extent of Soviet espionage in Canada. Generally it was agreed that there are hundreds of agents working throughout our country and that the RCMP probably has hundreds of its personnel working in counter-espionage activities; this information, for obvious security reasons, can never be confirmed publicly.

Parkway Store with Phone Booth used as "Dead Letter Box"

Message in place

Without message

QUESTIONS

1. Survey your own community or the area in which you live. Try to develop a list of sites and people which might seriously be of interest to a foreign government.
2. In this unit you have read one case study involving foreign agents within our country. Here are the names of other people who have come into public prominence because of similar cases. You might wish to do research to uncover the details of the missions with which they were connected.
   - — Igor Gouzenko, Ottawa, 1945
   - — Fred Rose, M.P., Ottawa, 1946
   - — George Victor Spencer, Vancouver, 1965
   - — Lev Grigoreyvich Khovostsev, Ottawa, 1977
3. What is your reaction to the way Canada handled the 1978 espionage case? If you are at all critical of our response, be prepared to suggest alternative ways in which External Affairs and the RCMP could have acted.
4. If Canada's Security Service knows the identity of other people involved in spying activities why might they not move at once to expose them?
5. Consider the comment printed at the opening of this unit, that at least some intelligence experts consider Canada "ripe for subversion." By examining Canada's present state of affairs try to justify or refute this statement.
6. Suppose that the American government requested our co-operation to have agents of their international espionage organization, the Central Intelligence Agency, work in Canada. Under what conditions would you agree to this? Be sure to justify your decision in either permitting or rejecting the request.
7. Suppose that the Canadian government uncovers activities here by foreign agents from a government considered friendly to us, but a government which has not informed us about this operation. What actions would you consider appropriate for Canada to take in this situation?
8. If Canada participates in an international activity such as peacekeeping or observations, it is likely that we will pick up or have access to information which might otherwise not be available. If a nation friendly to us were to seek access to this information because they consider it vital to their own interests, should Canada co-operate?

   Write a letter to the leader of that country to explain Canada's decision. (You may create any scenario you wish when you are developing this correspondence.)

15/Issues to Consider

Each of the following issues is a question which Canadians should consider. As you work on each topic, try to use insights you have gained from previous exercises, particularly in Unit 2 of the book, and realize that there is no right answer to any of the issues. Certainly even many Canadian officials do not agree on the solutions to these problems. At the end of each issue there are a number of questions to help you analyse the problem or clarify certain aspects of it. Some of these issues would make good topics for formal debates, and all of them can be used for informal class discussion.

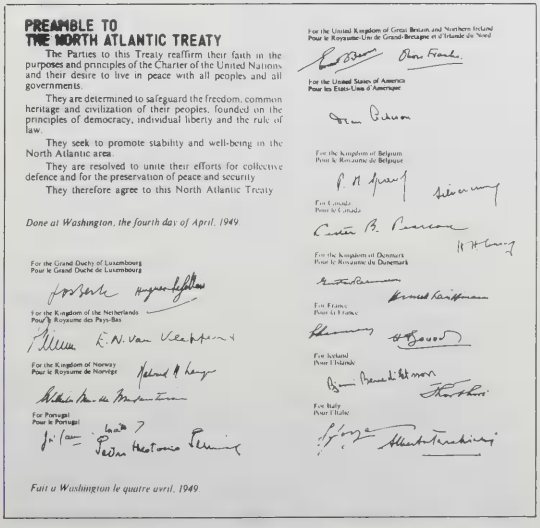
Issue no. 1 — Should Canada Withdraw from NATO?

After World War II the world found itself involved in a new war — the Cold War. The Western allies reacted in a number of ways to what they considered to be aggression by the Soviet Union. In 1949 an alliance was formed that stretched from Norway and Iceland in the north to Greece and Turkey in the south. This alliance was called NATO, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Meanwhile, on the other side of the Iron Curtain, the Warsaw Pact was formed under the leadership of the Soviet Union, including such countries as Poland and Bulgaria.

Over the years the NATO alliance has changed. In 1966 France withdrew from the organization. And in 1969 Canada started a gradual cutback of its NATO forces. At present five thousand men and women of the Canadian forces are part of NATO's forces in Central Germany. They consist of a mehcanized Battle Group — which has been called one of the best trained fighting units in the world — and an Air Group composed of three squadrons of CF 104 aircraft. In addition, Canada contributes significantly to the naval forces of NATO.

However, as times have changed and the tensions of the Cold War have eased, many Canadians have called for an evaluation of Canada's role in this alliance. Some Canadians have gone even further. They have called for Canada's withdrawal from NATO.

In this section you will find arguments both for and against Canada's participation in NATO. And at the end of the section you will find questions that will help you to make up your own mind on this important issue.


PREAMBLE TO
THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY

The Parties to this Treaty reaffirm their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments.

They are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law.

They seek to promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area.

They are resolved to unite their efforts for collective defence and for the preservation of peace and security.

They therefore agree to this North Atlantic Treaty

Done at Washington, the fourth day of April, 1949

Fait a Washington le quatre avril, 1949

From "Thirty Years Later — Aims of the Alliance Still Valid" by Joseph M.A.H. Luns, NATO *Review,* April 1979

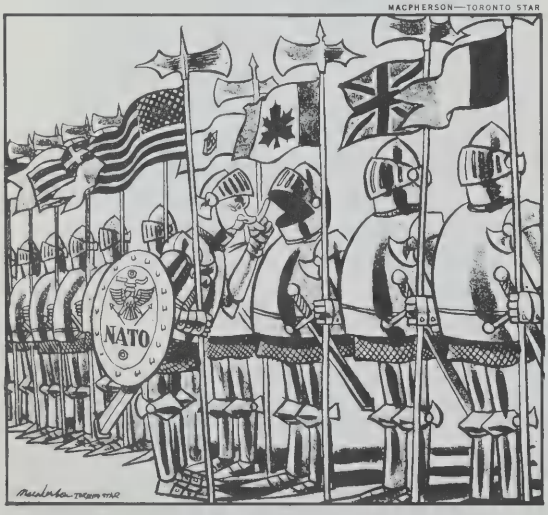
THREE REASONS TO STAY IN

Ross Campbell, Canada's chief delegate to NATO for five years, thinks Canada should stay in NATO and that we should in fact increase our role.

1. Canada was instrumental in the formation of NATO in 1949 as a bulwark against Soviet expansion into Western and Central Europe. There is little evidence that Soviet designs have changed. . . , tragically demonstrated by the suppression of the Hungarian uprising, the invasion of Czechoslovakia and a series of menacing gestures toward West Berlin. [Through NATO] . . . the West world be able to resist attack without immediate recourse to nuclear weapons.
2. Canada's troop and aircraft contributions may not form an essential part of the NATO defense system, but they remain important as a symbol of Canada's commitment to collective western defense. This country's withdrawal could weaken the resolve of smaller NATO members . . . and could lead the

way to a gradual disintegration of the alliance.
3. Canada's membership in NATO is our admission card to the negotiating tables of the Western Alliance. As members, we remain in touch with European opinion. . . We cannot afford to stand by while others make the decisions that will so vitally affect our future. Canada's UN representative in Geneva, George Ignatieff, recently said that Canadian participation in NATO even gave the country a greater say in disarmament discussions.

From "Choosing Up Sides On NATO," *Maclean's,* October 1972



THREE REASONS TO GET OUT

Professor James Eayrs, the country's best-known defence critic, calls for Canada to opt out of NATO.

1. Canada's position in NATO is unique. We are the only member which is neither a great power nor a European State. Our departure would therefore not drain the alliance of any significant strength. It's hard to believe that Canada's legal and gradual withdrawal from NATO would break up the alliance when the unilateral and abrupt withdrawal of France did not.
2. NATO has always had to make do with the crumbs of decision . . . The alliance was not consulted during the Berlin confrontations or the Cuban missile crisis . . . As for influence, it's inconceivable that we would lose access to the important European capitals by leaving NATO. Our relations outside the alliance would if anything improve. The nuclear sterilization of Germany may well depend on NATO, but this has nothing to do with Canada's membership.
3. There are many ways of contributing to collective security. Some nations . . . can field huge armies and erect elaborate missile systems . . . But a social worker is just as necessary to a healthy community as a policeman — and no less dedicated. There would be no free ride for a nation that took on the task of providing aid and know-how to the underdeveloped world and provided peacekeeping forces in times of trouble. This — and not NATO membership — should become our prime international function.

From "Choosing Up Sides On NATO," *Maclean's,* October 1972

QUESTIONS TO HELP CLARIFY THE ISSUE

1. Will conventional forces, like those of NATO, be important in the wars of the future?
2. How significant is Canada's contribution to the defence of Europe?
3. Does Canada's membership in NATO hinder our relationship with certain countries?
4. When NATO was started it was meant to be more than just a military organization. What other activities might NATO undertake for its members besides military work? How would such activities perhaps change some people's attitudes to NATO?
5. The Commander of NATO has always been a U.S. General. What do you think this indicates about the organization?

A FINAL QUESTION

Our next topic concerns another organization, the Commonwealth, of which Canada is also a member. If you were to stress Canada's participation in one of these two very different organizations, which would it be? Keep this question in mind as you read the next topic.

Issue no. 2 — Canada and the Commonwealth

WHAT IS THE COMMONWEALTH, REALLY?

The Commonwealth is sometimes described as a family of nations and it will hold together and work together more effectively if the family continues as its firm foundation.

Queen Elizabeth II, in a recent Commonwealth Day message

The Commonwealth can bring together leaders from various parts of the earth for a touch of healing in our troubled world.

Rt. Hon. Jawaharlal Nehru, former Prime Minister of India

Commonwealth meetings have provided a valuable educational process for their participants. They broaden contacts, knowledge, understanding, and friendships across the lines of racial, cultural, economic or geographic differences. The Commonwealth is not merely an association of friends, it is an association that can and does make friends.

Arnold Smith, Canadian diplomat and first Secretary General of the Commonwealth

In this Commonwealth there is no structure to contain us; there are no fetters to chafe us. There is no artificial adhesive. Nor is there any voting, any constitution, any flag, any headquarters. This association is neither regional in nature nor specialized in its interests. The Commonwealth is an organism and this fact guarantees both its vitality and its flexibility.

Rt. Hon. Pierre Trudeau, to Commonwealth leaders in Ottawa, 1973

For Canada, the Commonwealth is important for a number of reasons. It is, of course, a part of our history . . . It is also, in a very real sense, one of our primary windows on the world. It is an illogical organization, with no constitution, no primary function, and no defined world role. Perhaps for that very reason it can bring together statesmen from every part of the world — not to agree, not to create a new world order, but simply to exchange views and understand each other better.

Marcel Cadieux, former Canadian Ambassador to the United States

WHICH COUNTRIES MAKE UP THE COMMONWEALTH?

Australia
Bahamas
Bangladesh
Barbados
Botswana
Britain
Canada
Cyprus
Fiji
The Gambia
Ghana
Grenada
Guyana
India
Jamaica
Kenya
Lesotho
Malawi
Malaysia
Malta
Mauritius
New Zealand
Nauru
Nigeria
Papua-New Guinea
Seychelles
Sierre Leone
Singapore
Sri Lanka (Ceylon)
Swaziland
Tanzania
Tonga
Trinidad and Tobago
Uganda
Western Samoa
Zambia

WHAT HOLDS THEM TOGETHER?

It is the golden article of the Crown which alone embraces the loyalties of so many States and races all over the world.

— Winston Churchill

There are now in the Commonwealth some 20 republics and a few kingdoms, as well as those members that share with Britain the person of their head of state. All recognize the Queen as the symbol of their free association and, as such, as head of the Commonwealth.

— Arnold Smith

Historically, of course, the origins of the Commonwealth are in the British Empire . . . Another unifying factor almost too obvious to be mentioned is, of course, a common language. To have a common language, together with so many common traditions of government, law, education and culture, does make it possible for Commonwealth leaders to talk together with perhaps a greater degree of genuine understanding than is possible in any other world forum.

— Marcel Cadieux

WHAT DOES THE COMMONWEALTH DO?

What happens in a typical year within the Commonwealth? Here is a list of some of the official Commonwealth functions in which Canadians participated in 1977. Remember that in addition to these events a large proportion of Canadian foreign aid goes to developing Commonwealth countries.

- Heads of Commonwealth governments met in London. Among other things, they discussed the struggle for independence in Zimbabwe and Namibia, the particular economic problems of developing countries, the violation of human rights in Uganda, the law of the sea, energy and food production.
- The Commonwealth Foundation announced a grant in support of a program of co-operation between the Commonwealth and the French-speaking countries of Africa.
- The twenty-third Commonwealth parliamentary conference took place in Ottawa. More than 250 parliamentarians from over 100 national and provincial legislatures attended, and groups of them visited all provinces of Canada.
- The Commonwealth Group of Experts met to complete their report to Commonwealth governments on means of closing the gap between rich and poor countries.
- Canada participated in an 11-man team of industrial specialists who met to consider ways of accelerating the pace of industrial development.
- Canada sent a delegation to a Commonwealth Youth Program Seminar in Jamaica. The purpose of the seminar was to encourage greater involvement by young people in the development of their countries.
- Canadian participants presented papers at the Fourth Conference of the Association for Commonwealth Literature and Studies, in New Delhi.
- A Canadian delegation attended a seminar on energy organized by the Commonwealth Science Council. The seminar was held in Barbados.
- The Royal Agricultural Society of the Commonwealth met in Regina and later in Jamaica.
- The sixteenth meeting of the Commonwealth Telecommunications Council was held in Singapore.
- Within Canada, the Royal Commonwealth Society engaged in a number of activities, among them the fifth Student Commonwealth Conference, attended by more than 100 students from across Canada.

QUESTIONS TO HELP CLARIFY THE ISSUE:

1. It is obvious that it is difficult to define what the Commonwealth is. Do you think that this is a strength or a weakness of the organization?
2. Does the role Canada plays in the Commonwealth help or hinder us in the other roles we play in international affairs? Use examples from other sections in the book to justify your answer.
3. How does Canada's membership in the Commonwealth affect our foreign aid programs?
4. How does our membership in the Commonwealth affect Canadian business abroad?

A FINAL QUESTION

The only real link between Commonwealth members is their former status as colonies of Great Britain.

a) What is the difference between the British Empire and the Commonwealth?

b)Find out why some former British colonies such as Egypt, South Africa, Nepal and Iraq are not members of the Commonwealth today.

c) What traditions and principles has Canada maintained from our history as a British colony?

Issue no. 3 — Should Canada Provide Aid to Groups Attempting to Overthrow a Government?

During the 1970's a debate erupted in Canada when it was revealed that Canadian aid would be going to African "freedom fighters." These freedom fighters are generally native Africans who are attempting to overthrow existing governments. These particularly included the governments of South Africa, Angola and Rhodesia. In all cases the governments in power are or were white dominated.

Secretary of State for External Affairs Mitchell Sharp, who had sparked this debate, tried to make clear that this aid would be of a "humanitarian" nature.

The following articles express different views on this question.

A Point of View

Foreign Aid is not for Terrorism

The government's announced intention is to give several hundred thousand dollars — the exact amount not specified — to private organizations such as Oxfam for distribution to the guerrilla movements operating in Southern Africa, mainly against Rhodesia and Portuguese Mozambique.

The money is to be marked for humanitarian purposes only — blankets not bullets, in the words of a spokesman for the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

There are a number of things wrong with this proposition. In the first place, if they need blankets and Canada supplies them, the terrorists will have more money left to buy their bullets. Assistance to guerrilla fighters cannot be divided into good and bad components — it all goes to help them toward their objective, good or bad, — and it also implies approval of their method.

The method is terrorism, including the murder of women and children. This is extremely difficult to justify even in the most desperate circumstances.

The facts that the weapons used are mainly of Chinese and East European origin, and that many of the guerrillas are professionals trained in Communist countries, suggest motives that have little to do with the well-being of the peoples of Southern Africa.

Encouragement of violence and terrorism is precisely the wrong way to work towards a solution of the problem. It can only encourage more rigidly unyielding attitudes by the white governments.

Canada has little enough money for foreign aid programs. There are plenty of other ways even a few hundred thousand of it can be peacefully and far more constructively spent.

From the Toronto *Star,* March 15, 1974
Taken from *Cuttings and Comments,*
Canadian Council for International Co-operation

Another Point of View

Editor, *Citizen:* The storm of misinformed protest generated by our government's decision to make a token contribution of humanitarian assistance to liberation movements in Southern Africa has revealed the Canadian public for what it really is — racist.

This sad state of affairs is in large part the responsibility of the media. Why is it that so few Canadians know about the repressive white minority regimes of Southern Africa which continue to deny the most basic human rights and freedoms to the vast majority of their people solely because of their color? Indeed why is it that the concerns of the Third World are so regularly and conspicuously ignored by the media? The inescapable conclusion is that the media, the *Citizen* included, have been derelict in their duty to keep the public informed.

If only Canadians knew half as much about the current Southern African situation as they do about the "energy crisis"!

Cameron Bowes
Ottawa

The Ottawa *Citizen,* March 2, 1974

The Testimony of One Freedom Fighter — South Africa

Nelson Mandela

"I do not deny that I planned sabotage," Mandela told the court. "I did not plan it in a spirit of recklessness, nor because I have any love of violence. I planned it as a result of a calm and sober assessment of the political situation that had arisen after many years of tyranny, exploitation and oppression of my people by the whites. . . .

"We felt that without violence there would be no way open to the African people to succeed in their struggle against the principle of white supremacy. All lawful modes of expressing opposition to this principle had been closed by legislation . . . We first broke the law in a way which avoided any recourse to violence. When this form was legislated against, and when the government resorted to a show of force to crush opposition to its policies, only then did we decide to answer violence with violence. . . .

"During my lifetime . . . I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the idea of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

This testament of Nelson Mandela should be read before every meeting of the Canadian government at which aid to the Southern African resistance is about to be discussed. There could be no more effective antidote against further copping-out.

From "Canada 'Copping-Out' in Africa",
The Ottawa *Citizen,* March 26, 1974

QUESTIONS

1. Can you distinguish between different kinds of aid when you are giving help to such a group?
2. How would Canada feel if the situation were reversed and aid was being sent to a similar group in Canada?
3. Is this aid interference in the internal affairs of another country?
4. Does this aid give Canada's stamp of approval to all groups attempting to overthrow a "repressive" government?
5. How will this policy affect our relations with "established" governments in the world?
6. The above five questions all seem to suggest that giving aid to such groups is wrong. Can you think of another five questions that would even out this bias?

Issue no. 4 — Should Canada Be an Arms Broker?

The following was suggested by the Canadian Council for International Co-operation as a good question to ask candidates running in a recent federal election.

> Would you like to comment on the apparent contradiction between our image of Canada as a peacekeeping nation and the fact Canada has the highest per capita arms production in the world?

The following figures give an indication of Canada's relative position in the selling of arms. These figures are supplied by the Arms Control division of the Department of National Defence.

TOTAL ARMS TRANSFERS BY MAJOR SUPPLIERS FROM 1965-1974 (MILLIONS OF DOLLARS)

United States	31 563
Soviet Union	18 793
France	2 826
People's Republic of China	2 119
United Kingdom	2 089
Czechoslovakia	1 253
Poland	1 228
Federal Republic of Germany	1 221
Canada	1 187
All Others	2 125
Total	64 404

The figures for Canada can be broken down in the following way

Sales to U.S.A.	766 million
Sales to other NATO countries	127 million
Sales to other countries	294 million

The preceding figures establish that Canada is deeply involved in the business of selling arms. The question remains, is this the way it should be?

QUESTIONS

1. Canada is not neutral in world politics. Does this justify its sale of arms?
2. Could Canada stop selling arms without doing harm to its allies?
3. Is it important to know where the arms are going?
4. Would Canada's withdrawal from arms sales make any real difference in the world situation?
5. Would Canada's withdrawal from the arms sales create any real problems for the Canadian economy?

Issue no. 5 — Should Canada Share Its Nuclear Expertise?

In May 1974, India exploded a nuclear device, probably using technology and uranium shared with it by Canada. Suddenly from many areas of the world, South Africa, Pakistan, Israel, came reports, official and unofficial, that nuclear bombs were possible. The balance of power for the world had taken a sudden and frightening shift.

In Canada numerous questions were posed regarding Canada's responsibility in this development. Suggestions were put forward ranging from systems of inspection to suspension of the sale of nuclear reactors. These questions and suggestions became even more vital since Canada was involved in negotiations to sell the same reactor to Argentina.

View no. 1

Sirs: — India should not be castigated for taking steps to develop atomic weapons. Whatever her internal problems may be, and they are admittedly serious, it is only a few years ago since she had the experience of seeing Chinese troops crossing her northern borders and with South East Asia apt to fall like a ripe plum into communist hands any day, and the USSR navy increasingly active in the Indian Ocean, India sees the need of being adequately prepared to defend herself.

No nation that hopes to maintain its sovereignty can expect to do so without due preparation. Canada take notice.

R. Keith Earls
The Ottawa *Citizen,* May 28, 1974

Nuclear Pride

Editor, *Citizen*: It was disappointing to read the unfavorable reaction in the press about what might be considered as one of the greatest events in the history of a developing nation: the underground explosion of a nuclear device by India.

It should be a matter of pride, especially to smaller under-developed nations which together represent a big chunk of the world, that this great achievement is now no longer the exclusive privilege of the big powers.

India has not signed the non-proliferation treaty and is in no way internationally bound to limit its activity in the field of nuclear research. Canada was fully aware of this position and the sentiments of the people when it chose to supply to India the reactors it needed not only as a friendly gesture but also to satisfy its commercial interests.

Babar Mirza
Ottawa
The Ottawa *Citizen*, May 28, 1974

View no. 2

Editor, The *Citizen:* The Canadian decision to cut off nuclear aid to India is appreciable in the wake of India's testing of a nuclear device.

But the decision does not go far enough. Canada should suspend and possibly cut off its nuclear aid to all other countries.

What guarantee does Canada have from other countries such as Argentina, Pakistan that they will use such aid for peaceful purposes only? If business is the sole motive behind selling Candu reactors then the Canadian decision against India is biased and shortsighted.

India claims that the device will be used for peaceful purposes. But who knows? The word "peace" has acquired so many meanings.

Is national defence not peaceful? After all what America did in Vietnam for a decade was only for "peaceful" purposes.

A. Singh
Ottawa

Statement by Department of External Affairs
Saturday, May 18, 1974

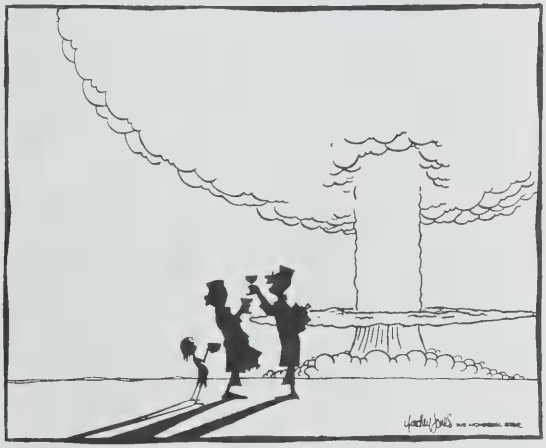
Ottawa — The Government was very concerned by the announcement that India had exploded a nuclear device. We are carefully considering the implications and are seeking further information from the Canadian High Commission in New Delhi.

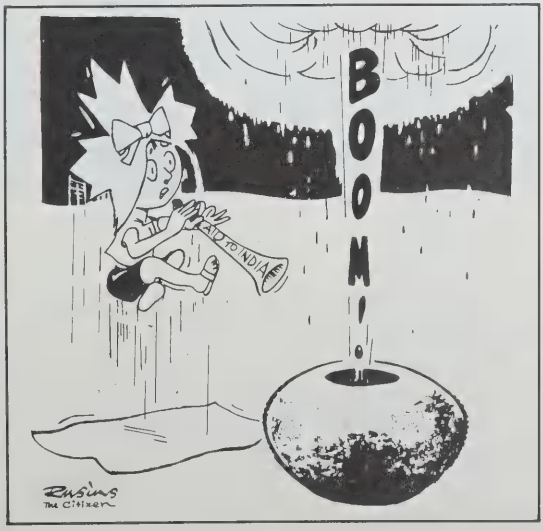
Canada has been consistently opposed to all forms of nuclear testing and we consider it most regrettable that another country has now conducted a nuclear explosion. This represents a severe set-back to efforts being made in the international community to prevent all nuclear testing and to inhibit the proliferation of nuclear explosion technology.

Canada's co-operation with India in the nuclear energy field has been for peaceful purposes only and has been accepted by India on that basis.

Other Views

Look carefully at the two following cartoons and discuss what kind of statements they make about the issue.





QUESTIONS

1. Does Canada have any responsibility to ensure that Canadian reactors are being used for peaceful purposes?
2. Should Canada stop the sale of nuclear reactors completely?
3. Should Canada insist on the right of inspection to determine how the reactors are being used?
4. What is the significance of additional countries possessing nuclear weapons?
5. Can international organizations help Canada in solving this problem?

Issue no. 6 — Should Canada Send Aid to Countries Violating Human Rights?

David MacDonald is a Member of the House of Commons from Prince Edward Island and Secretary of State in the Cabinet of Prime Minister Clark. In March, 1977, he introduced a private member's bill, Bill C-404, to the House of Commons.

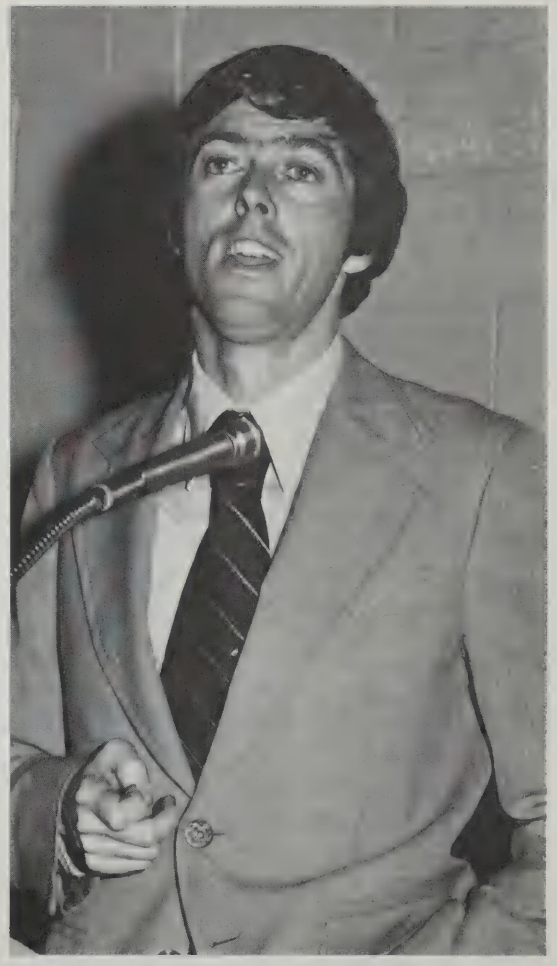
This bill was entitled the Foreign Aid Prohibition Act. According to Mr. MacDonald, the bill was based on Canada's own commitment to human rights. Because of this, he suggested that Canada should refuse to provide aid to countries who consistently violate the human rights of their own people.

If the bill had been passed, certain countries would have been put on a list of "prohibited countries," and would be unable to receive financial, trade or military assistance, direct or indirect, from Canada. Some examples of policies that would place a country in this prohibited category would be "denial of right to emigrate," "cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment," or "prolonged detention without charge." In a situation where it was unclear whether a country was violating these rights, Canada would consult the International Commission of Jurists.

The bill did however provide for aid to the *people* of such a country on condition that this aid was administered through a "non-governmental, international relief organization."

Although this bill was not passed it poses an important dilemma for Canadians. We consider human rights one of the most important values underlying our way of life. Canadian representatives have spoken out when human rights have been put down in other countries. We have signed the Helsinki Agreement pledging our support for the concept of human rights for all.

Can we ignore this concept, which we claim is so important, in our distribution of foreign aid? If we do, other countries may certainly accuse us of saying one thing and doing another.



QUESTIONS

1. Are strategic considerations or moral ones more important in decisions of foreign aid?
2. What are some of the countries which might be affected if Canada were to pass such a bill?
3. What might some of the consequences be for Canada if such a bill were to be passed?
4. How would other countries react if Canada did pass such a bill?

Tradewinds: A Simulation

Introduction

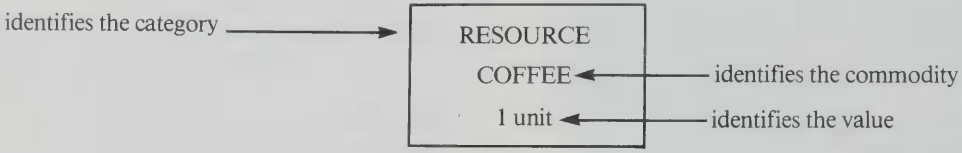
How can I survive? How can I improve my standard of living?

For many people in the world the battle for survival is one that must be fought every day. For other people poverty, starvation, and widespread disease are things that do not happen in their lives. The question for these people is not how to survive but "How high a standard of living can I achieve?" In the simulation you are about to play, a game developed by Mr. Bob Linklater of Orchard Park Secondary School, Stoney Creek, you will have to deal with one or both of these questions, depending on which country you represent in the game. You will be a citizen of Angola, Canada, India, Saudi Arabia or South Africa. Each country will be given certain amounts of food, resources, machinery, gold and luxury items. The amount will depend on the economic status of your country. As a nation you must trade with the other four countries to try to improve your position. You will have to make your own trade agreements with each of the other countries. The first object is to make sure that your country survives. Your standard goal is to improve your standard of living.

During this game, as in real life, nations may be affected by outside forces. Natural disasters may strike one nation, crippling strikes another, trade boycotts a third. The director of the game will decide when and where situations like these will occur, and the country in question will lose appropriate amounts of resources or food to the director. The director is also the central bank and controls gold. To get gold your country must give 1 unit of machinery and 1 unit of oil to the director. He will return the machinery to you for further development and will also give you 2 units of gold.

If time permits you may prepare a flag for your country to display in your part of the room where the simulation takes place.

A. TO PREPARE for the simulation, a number of small cards should be created on coloured pieces of paper. A sample card would look like this:



The cards' categories are:

FOOD (category)	wheat (commodity)	10 cards, each 1 unit
	milk	10
	beef	10
	coffee	5
	fruit	10
	rice	10
	millet	10
RESOURCE (category)	sisal (commodity)	5
	iron	5
	paper	5
	oil	15
	coffee	5
	sugar	5
MACHINERY (category)	requires 1 unit of oil (commodity)	7 cards, each 1 unit
LUXURY (category)	cars (commodity) (each of which requires 1 unit of oil to function)	5 cards, each 1 unit
	cigarettes	5 cards, each 1 unit
	spice	20 cards, each 1 unit
GOLD (category)		20 cards, each 1 unit

Now, organize the cards in these envelopes.

CANADA		
Population 3 or 4	10 units wheat	5 units paper
	10 units milk	5 units cigarettes
	10 units beef	5 units cars
	5 units iron	3 units machinery
SAUDI ARABIA		
Population 4 to 6	15 units oil	
ANGOLA		
Population 4 or 5	5 units coffee	1 unit machinery
SOUTH AFRICA		
Population 4 to 6	10 units fruit	5 units gold
	5 units sugar	2 units machinery
INDIA		
Population 8 to 12	10 units rice	5 units spice
	10 units millet	1 unit machinery
	5 units sisal	
BANK	15 units	

B. TO PLAY the simulation, the following schedule is suggested for a forty minute period.

(i) Divide players as per population into 5 nations

5 MIN (ii) Distribute envelopes. Allow players to divide up cards as they wish among themselves and then decide their nation's trade strategy.

15 MIN (iii) Trading activities. Fate may strike.

(iv) Tabulate the standard of living each player and nation has achieved. (See chart of interpretation below.) Who survived?

15 MIN (v) Debriefing/Discussion of what happened; why; impressions of players; what could be done; etc.

Debriefing

To finalize the positions of the nations at the end of the simulation, interpret the cards held by the players using the following guidelines:

(a) A player has a high standard of living if he has: 4 to 6 units of food representing 3 different kinds of food, plus 2 units of resources representing 2 different kinds of resources, plus 3 units of luxuries representing 3 different kinds of luxuries.

(b) A player just survives if he can acquire: 2 to 4 units of food, plus 1 to 2 units of resources.

(c) A unit of gold may be tabulated as the equivalent of 2 units of food, or 1 unit of resource, or 1 unit of luxury.

1. Select the commodities which seemed to be most vital in establishing a strong position for some nations.
2. The simulation provided only for the trading of goods; no provision was made for the advantaged nations to *give* some of their excess commodities to the poorer countries, or for the latter to request more from the richer nations. Participants should discuss how they feel about such "sharing" both at the game level and then at a realistic level for Canada with the Third World.
3. Trade or Aid? This dilemma about the best way for a country like Canada to help the Third World is very important.

   If Canada wishes to help a Third World nation with its development problems, can this be accomplished better through trade or aid programs? Be sure to consider the pros and cons of each type of program for Canada and for the other country.
4. A country might be rich in resources and yet operate on a survival level. What factors do you think could cause this seeming contradiction?

Unit 3

Canada at the United Nations

17/A Commitment

At the end of World War Two the victorious allies decided that a new international organization should be created to bring peace to the world. In 1945, at a conference in San Francisco, fifty-one countries, including Canada, became the original members of the United Nations.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King led our delegation to this meeting.

Six bodies were set up to be the vital organs of the UN. The *General Assembly,* the main debating body for all UN members, meets annually to review world problems and to review and supervise the activities of the whole organization.

In the *Security Council* the most powerful states — Britain, China, France, the U.S.A., and the USSR — are permanent members, to monitor problems and to be ready to direct, or impose their will on, troublesome countries. Ten non-permanent members, elected from the community of nations for two-year terms, complete this Council.

Special areas of concern such as supervising colonies became the responsibility of a *Trusteeship Council,* while the *Economic and Social Council* cares for such needs as world health, food, education and agriculture.

The *International Court of Justice in* The Hague, the Netherlands, continued its prewar role as an arbiter* in disputes between nations who consent to use its services.

To carry on the daily functions of the organization is the *Secretariat,* the UN's equivalent of a nation's civil service.

Today the UN membership has grown to 150 countries. It seems that annually another new state applies to join.

From its original structure, almost 150 governing bodies, councils and boards have eventually emerged. Some of the most significant of these are:

ILO (International Labour Organization)
IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency)
UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization)
WHO (World Health Organization)
The World Bank
ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization)
UPU (Universal Postal Union)
WMO (World Meteorological Organization)

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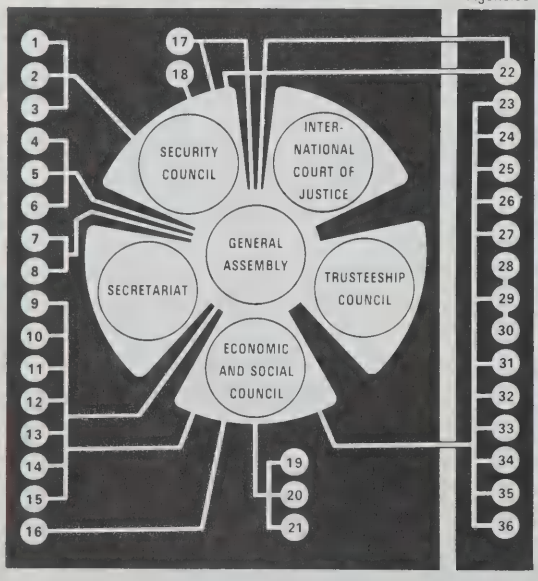
* *Arbiter — judge*

Canada's support of the United Nations has included participation in all of these major bodies; in total our delegates have been elected, appointed or have volunteered their services to 91 different United Nations bodies.

THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM



The United Nations

1 United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine (UNTSO)
2 United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP)
3 United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)
4 Main Committees
5 Standing and Procedural Committees
6 Other Subsidiary Organs of General Assembly
7 United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA)
8 United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)
9 Trade and Development Board
10 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
11 United Nations Capital Development Fund
12 United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)
13 United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR)
14 United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)
15 United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)
16 Joint United Nations–FAO World Food Programme
17 Disarmament Commission
18 Military Staff Committee
19 Regional Economic Commission
20 Functional Commissions
21 Sessional, Standing and *Ad Hoc* Committees

Inter-governmental Agencies

22	IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
23	ILO	International Labour Organisation
24	FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
25	UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
26	WHO	World Health Organization
27	IMF	International Monetary Fund
28	IDA	International Development Association
29	IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank)
30	IFC	International Finance Corporation
31	ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organization
32	UPU	Universal Postal Union
33	ITU	International Telecommunication Union
34	WMO	World Meteorological Organization
35	IMCO	Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization
36	GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

Canada also makes financial contributions to the United Nations. The following chart gives you an idea of the extent of Canada's financial support.

CANADA'S FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM ($000 CANADIAN)*

	Financial year ending March 31/76	Financial year ending March 31/75	Total 1945-1976
A. UN regular budget	9,856	8,838	91,857
B. Peace-keeping			
UNFICYP	1,930	3,853	27,812
UNEF II	4,620	2,803	8,377
C. Social and economic programs			
UNDP	24,500	22,200	161,071
UNHCR	600	550	39,332
UNICEF	3,500	2,500	33,875
UNRWA**	1,350	1,150	32,753
UNITAR	60	60	660
UNETPSA	175	175	649
WFP**	10,000	3,739	141,252
UNFPA	3,500	2,500	13,052
Committee on Racial Discrimination	3	2	13
Trust Fund for South Africa	10	10	60
Fund for Drug Abuse Control	200	200	950
UN Voluntary Fund for Environment	--	--	1,004
D. Specialized Agencies and IAEA			
ILO	2,761	1,497	19,567
FAO	3,321	2,141	25,678
WHO	3,676	1,395	33,149
UNESCO	2,491	2,690	22,617
ICAO	443	424	6,599
IMCO	42	27	299
ITU	690	503	4,791
WMO	243	178	1,389
UPU	130	132	1,006
IAEA (regular and operational budgets)	1,155	881	7,220
GATT	651	557	3,898
WIPO	117	141	258
E. UN Association in Canada	35	35	470

* Canada ranks as sixth- to eighth-largest contributor to the budget of the United Nations and its related agencies.

** Contributions to UNRWA and the World Food Program include only the cash portion of the Canadian donation. There are also contributions in kind, consisting primarily of food grains.

Perhaps the greatest moment of our UN participation came in 1956 when Mr. Pearson, at this time Canada's Minister of External Affairs, guided the General Assembly in creating a peacekeeping force to restore order and keep the combatants apart in a Middle East crisis. For this, the Minister was eventually awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

Since 1956 many other UN Emergency Forces (UNEF's) have been created and Canada has often been a willing contributor because our presence was acceptable to the nations involved in the dispute. These forces have become important as they can often support whatever decisions the Security Council makes.

The Security Council itself, on the other hand, has never developed the strength that the postwar allies originally intended, because changes in the world since 1945 have brought major disagreements among the five permanent members.

Rivalries between the democratic and Communist countries, the First and Second Worlds, dominated the UN's first twenty-five years, during the period called the Cold War. Verbal battles among diplomats, espionage, and crises in delicate spots such as Berlin, replaced the armed battles of World War Two.

But these disputes also prevented the UN from being united for decisive actions. This political indecision led to criticism from citizens of various countries of what they saw as the organization's ineffectiveness amid rising costs.

To its supporters, on the other hand, the UN was making difficult, slow progress in working toward a system of rules for world order and for the basic equal rights and conditions which all human beings should share.

Canada's commitment to the UN continues today. In 1977, for example we accepted another two-year term on the Security Council. External Affairs Minister Donald Jamieson defended our acceptance of this responsibility in this way:

Canada's International Responsibilities

During its lifetime the Security Council has suffered its own ups and downs. There was a period when there was very grave doubt and many reservations expressed as to whether or not in fact the Security Council and, by implication, the whole of the United Nations, might have to undergo serious revision in its structures and its mechanism, because it didn't appear to be working. Back in the late 1950's the Security Council in one year met only five times because of a whole series of events that occurred during that period of the cold war and the tensions between East and West. Well, since that time, slowly but to some extent one can say, satisfactorily, the Security Council has changed its shape and has, in my judgement, become more effective.

That doesn't mean that it is a perfect instrument, clearly it falls short of that; but as against those five meetings that I mentioned in one year, in the first half of 1976, the current year, the Security Council has met some 69 times and indeed, in addition to that, there have been a number of informal sessions of one type and another, so that it can be said with a good deal of accuracy that the Security Council is now almost a continulng body meeting pretty much all the time, and one which has to be apprized of the many serious problems which are generating and have generated tensions throughout the world.

For all of these reasons we, in the Government of Canada, thought very seriously this year when it became apparent that our election to the Council for the fourth time was probably going to come about. We had to ask ourselves whether, indeed, it was an appropriate role for Canada and, put very frankly, we had to ask ourselves whether we were prepared to make and to take the hard decisions that I have no doubt will be put in front of us over the next two years of 1977 and '78. I think it is part of the Canadian tradition, and it's a reflection of that tradition that, while we realized the problems that lay ahead, there was not in the last analysis any serious thought on our part that we could allow this opportunity to pass, or this challenge to pass. And so it is that, as of a month from now, Canada will be back on the Security Council.

From a speech on December 3, 1976 to the Canadian Institute of International Affairs

The UN Headquarters in New York is one of the world's most active centres of diplomacy. External posts a permanent ambassador and staff to direct our affairs there while it links their activity to Ottawa through a United Nations Division or branch within their own Department.

Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary General of the UN, gave the UN's attitude toward Canada in a speech delivered in Winnipeg in 1977. He said, "Canada's contributions have always gone far beyond its formal obligations as a Member of the United Nations. Its active and imaginative support and leadership have been a priceless asset during the entire life of our Organization."

Such praise is apparently encouraging but there are still nagging doubts about Canada's participation in the organization. Do Canadians genuinely care? One M.P., who is a staunch UN supporter, has his own reservations.

"As long as I do a good job on my constituency work," he said, "the voters will forgive me for being involved with the UN."

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

18/Canadian Ambassador at Work

William H. Barton: A Biography
—born in Winnipeg, 1917
—educated at the University of British Columbia
—served with the Canadian Army in World War II and rose to rank of Major
—was Secretary to the Defence Research Board, 1950-1952
—joined Department of External Affairs in 1954
—posted as Counsellor to the Canadian Embassy in Vienna, 1966
—became Alternate Governor for Canada to the International Atomic Energy Agency, his first post associated with a UN body
—named Director of the Defence Liaison Division, Department of External Affairs, 1959
—posted to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations in New York with the rank of Counsellor in 1961; elevated to rank of Minister in 1963
—returned to Ottawa in 1964 to be the Head of External's UN Division
—appointed Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Personnel and Administration, 1970
—named Ambassador for Canada to the United Nations Office in Geneva and our Permanent Representative to the Conference on Disarmament, 1972
—named Ambassador to the United Nations, New York, 1976
—served as Canada's representative on the Security Council for two years, 1977, 1978

Ambassador Barton has this to say about Canada and the UN:

> I think it is fair to say that Canadians are not a cynical people, that the government reflected the views of the nation when it subscribed to the purposes of the United Nation's Charter in 1945, and that it continues to carry the support of most of our citizens for its active involvement in the Organization today.
>
> I believe I can assert with confidence that Canada is still seen as a major contributor to the UN, not only

in a financial sense, where we are the ninth largest contributor, but also in terms of our dedication to the achievement of the purposes of the Organization. In most UN organs, most of the time, Canadians' representatives continue to be numbered among the most influential and effective delegations. Although this assertion (or should I say boast) is intended to apply throughout the UN system, including Geneva, Rome, Paris, Nairobi and Montreal, as well as New York, what follows is primarily focussed on New York since that is my particular responsibility.

If we are effective, it is certain that one important component is management. It starts with the Government's management of foreign policy in all its aspects — political, economic aid, energy, science and technology, international law, and so on, including the identification of our national goals and priorities.

This is the foundation for determining our mission priorities, and mission priorities are essential, because there is simply too much going on to cover everything in depth.

Each year we make up what we call a country program which identifies our mission goals and gives a breakdown in man-years of the way it is planned to use our personnel resources. To cover the main areas on a continuing basis there are twelve officers, not counting myself: three on the political side, plus a military adviser; five on economic and social issues; one on colonial problems; one on legal affairs; one on UN management and administration; and one on public affairs.

Of course we don't hesitate to use one section of the mission to reinforce another when help is needed, and during the General Assembly, or when there are conferences requiring people with technical skills, we get reinforcements from Canada.

We also have a Trade Commissioner on our staff to make sure that Canada gets its fair share of the business generated by the UN through its development assistance programs.

Anyone who has had anything to do with the UN will appreciate that although we can and do identify policy areas to which we attach priority, and reflect this in our use of resources, we have to operate within the constraints of the UN system and timetable. For example, from September to December we have to deal with 125 items of the General Assembly as they come up in the agenda, and even during the rest of the year a major determining factor about what we can do, and when, is the Calendar of Conferences.

It is in Canada's own self-interest that we persist in our efforts to find solutions to problems no matter how many frustrations we may encounter in our work. This is the credo of the Canadians who work for you at the United Nations.

Comments from a speech delivered in Winnipeg, 1977.

A Day in the Life of the UN

At 8:45, as the last flag climbs to the top of its ceremonial pole, Canada's ambassador to the United Nations arrives at the Canadian mission at 866 UN Plaza. William Hickson Barton is 60 years old. The thick lenses of his glasses seem to enlarge his brown eyes and there is a distinctive scar along the right side of his mouth. His dress is conservative — a dark blue, two-piece suit, white shirt, purple and blue tie — and he has a bad cold. . . . "New York," he confides, "is an interesting place, but not one of my favourite cities. Luckily we have a home in the country, in Connecticut, that allows us to get away some weekends."

The Canadian ambassador to the United Nations is a respected man. He has a seat on the Security Council and, perhaps more important, he represents a country with a long, strong UN tradition. Prime Minister Mackenzie King was one of the first world leaders to sign the UN charter in 1945, and Canada is the only country in the world to have sent troops to each of the UN's main peacekeeping theatres: the Middle East, 1956-67; the Congo, 1960-64; Cyprus, 1964 to the present; and the Middle East, 1973 to the present.

After the conference on security Barton moves to another room, where he and his experts go through the UN Declaration on the Disarmament Conference line by line. Canada is taking this issue very seriously. The usual complement at the Canadian

mission is 40, but for the disarmament session an additional 15 experts have been added. As soon as his second meeting is over Barton rushes into his office to take a call from Bob Murdoch, Trudeau's executive assistant. Afterward he scurries around the building checking on final arrangements for Trudeau's visit, and then hurriedly leaves for the General Assembly to hear Giscard d'Estaing. Before going he flips through the pages of *The New York Times* until he finds the crossword puzzle, which he tears out and stuffs into a pocket. "Better than doodling," he mutters.

From "A Day in the Life of the U.N." *Weekend Magazine*, October 21, 1978

QUESTIONS

1. Draw a diagram to show the basic structure of the United Nations Organization and summarize the role of each of its major parts.
2. Many of the UN councils and boards on which Canada serves have names which indicate what the function of the agency is. Choose any five of these and explain what they do. Find out more about them from your library and write a brief note on each.
3. Do you agree or disagree with the reasons Donald Jamieson gave for Canada accepting another term as a member of the Security Council?
4. What particular things in William Barton's background would have prepared him for the post of Canada's ambassador to the United Nations?

THE UNITED NATIONS IN YOUR CLASSROOM

Following each of the major units on the United Nations in this section of the book, there will be exercises and projects to help you understand the work of the United Nations. In each of these exercises you will play the part of a Canadian representative in New York. To prepare you for your job as a Canadian representative to the UN you should first complete the following exercise.

Prepare a pamphlet to be distributed in Canada that will give a positive view of the UN. The pamphlet should be aimed particularly at those people who do not understand how the UN works or who do not understand Canada's role in the UN or who are critical of Canada's role. Try to make the pamphlet both attractive and informative.

19/Canada and Peacekeeping

Canada and UNEF

How did Canada become involved with UNEF, the United Nations Emergency Forces? How did the idea of such a force originate?

The following is a diary which a senior Canadian diplomat might have kept during the period when the *first* UNEF was created.

For a full discussion of this period, you can read *Mike, Volume Two,* the memoirs of former Prime Minister Pearson, published by the University of Toronto Press.

The world leaders who are mentioned in this diary are:

Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary-General of the United Nations
Anthony Eden, Prime Minister of Great Britain
Selwyn Lloyd, Foreign Secretary of Great Britain
Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of U.S.A.
John F. Dulles, Secretary of State of U.S.A.
Louis St. Laurent, Prime Minister of Canada
Lester "Mike" B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada
Nikita Khrushchev, Premier of USSR
Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of Egypt
Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of India

May 10, 1956 . . . Pearson had a conversation today with Dulles about Canadian arms sales to Israel. Egypt and the Arab states are still strong in their opposition to having a Jewish nation in the Middle East.

Soviet jet planes for Nasser's government are putting the balance of power, especially in aircraft, in favour of the Egyptians. Dulles says Egypt's friendship with Moscow and their recognition of Red China are bad signs. U.S. policy is to isolate the Communist nations, especially the Soviets.

July 22, 1956 . . . The Americans and the British have withdrawn their massive financial support for Egypt to build the Aswan dam. Nasser is very bitter. He has turned to Moscow for help and Khrushchev will back the project.

July 26, 1956 . . . Nasser continues to react. Today his country has taken over control of the Suez Canal. This is a direct slap against the West, especially against Britain and France who funded the Canal construction in return for an open waterway and revenue to repay its costs. Open access to this route is a vital pillar of Britain's foreign policy.

September 9, 1956 . . . A crisis is developing! Nasser rejects immediate compromises. In London, Eden is speaking dramatically about the use of force to reopen the Suez passage. Dulles, in Washington, is most reluctant to use force.

Ottawa is worried because there is a growing gulf between the British and American positions — always a dangerous situation for us.

October 29, 1956 . . . Today fighting erupted. Israel moved like lightning against Egypt. Canada is completely surprised that Britain and France have been secretly planning with Israel for a joint Middle East attack.

October 31, 1956 . . . The French and British air forces are bombing selected spots along the Canal zone.

At 5 p.m. St. Laurent received a telegram from Eden. It was marked "Top Secret & Personal" and it tried to justify the attacks. Would Canada support their policy, it asked.

Some of us in External worked with Pearson and the P.M. to draft our reply. We simply cannot understand the sense of this military intervention. We are worried that world reaction against Britain will be strong, and definitely dangerous for Commonwealth harmony. We are distressed with the rift between London and Washington.

November 1, 1956 . . . In New York the Security Council cannot come to any immediate decision so the matter is being referred to a full emergency session of the General Assembly.

Pearson and St. Laurent have been saying that Canada supported the UN when it created Israel and we feel the UN is still the place to resolve this problem through negotiations.

Privately Mike told me that he expects our country to take on new responsibilities because of this crisis. Perhaps this is a reference to a chat we had several months ago when he had been discussing the Middle East with Selwyn Lloyd, his British counterpart. Apparently Lloyd said that some kind of UN force might be useful in the region "to keep the lid from blowing off."

The Cabinet has given Pearson their support to make a suggestion for a UN force when the General Assembly meets. I shall be going to New York with our delegations but all our embassies have been instructed to test world reaction to our plan. Mike feels that if the UN takes on responsibility for bringing peace to the Middle East now, then London and Paris will be able to withdraw from the crisis.

November 2, 1956 . . . New York is submerged in fog. Tiring flight from Ottawa. The UN meeting was a long, exhausting one — until 4:30 this morning. Two votes held. All our diplomats are working at full speed to canvass the other delegations and explain Canadian policy.

We tell them that we don't support either the American or the British position; this way we can be free to seek out an acceptable solution without losing the confidence of those nations who already have a solid point of view on the matter.

I reported to Pearson that there is a basis of support if Canada proposes a ceasefire to be

policed by a UN emergency force. Mike spoke about this in his speech to the Assembly.

Mr. Dulles is reported to be pleased with this idea too.

November 2, 1956 . . . Some of us lunched today with Dag Hammarskjold. He's not optimistic about the UNEF idea. Thinks it will be very difficult to set up.

We flew back to Ottawa.

November 3, 1956 . . . On his way to report to Cabinet Mike learned that Britain and France would accept the peacekeeping idea if Israel and Egypt will also co-operate. Our diplomats in London and Washington are keeping in close touch with the views of our allies. We are urging Britain and France not to land troops. Israel has now taken control of the Sinai peninsula.

At 5 p.m. a group of us again boarded a plane for New York. I think the Statue of Liberty is getting to know us very well. Mr. Pearson seemed particularly solemn. He was concentrating on his speeches and the delicate negotiations ahead to get support for our proposal.

After supper I circulated in the delegates' lounges and corridors (and every other place where I could corner a diplomat) to explain our resolution. The Egyptian ambassador told us that Nasser will accept our plan. Hope's rising in the Canadian office!

Pearson addressed the General Assembly. When the vote came, no nation voted against our resolution. Nineteen, including the Soviet bloc, Britain, France and Israel, abstained from voting. But no one voted against it!

So plans have begun to have the Secretary General organize the first UNEF.

November 4, 1956 . . . Not much sleep again last night. But by 11:30 this morning we were all ready to go. Pearson met with delegates from Colombia, Norway and India as well as with Hammarskjold to plan the UNEF. It seems likely that a Canadian general, E.L.M. Burns, will be its first commander.

At 9 o'clock tonight Mr. St. Laurent delivered a speech to the country from Toronto. For the first time he formally announced Canadian participation. I feel part of a very important event.

November 5, 1956 . . . More troubles. British and French troops have parachuted into Canal zone cities. More pressure to achieve a settlement soon, especially because the Russians are now saying they may have to send "volunteers" to help Egypt. Eisenhower is expected to warn Khrushchev not to intervene.

Both Egypt and Israel announced today that they will agree to a ceasefire and UNEF.

November 7, 1956 . . . Hammarskjold has received firm offers of support from several nations. Plans are underway to have all the troops wear blue UN helmets and badges for identification. The Secretariat has been working around the clock to arrange all the UNEF details.

November 11, 1956 . . . Mike lost his temper today. The Egyptian ambassador informed us that Egypt cannot accept Canadian troops in UNEF. Nasser won't accept any country which has close ties with either Britain or France and, furthermore, National Defence in Ottawa has proposed to send our personnel from the Queen's Own Rifles.

Later, when we had all calmed down, our delegation discussed this and tried to understand Egypt's point of view. Maybe it is inappropriate to send forces with the name of the Queen in their title when Nasser's people have just been fighting troops of the same name from Britain.

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ii) How UNEF's Are Created

November 15, 1956 . . . External has instructed our High Commissioner in India to speak to Prime Minister Nehru. Nehru is on good terms with Nasser because he spoke out so strongly against Britain's invasions. We hope he can persuade the Egyptians to change their mind about letting our troops join UNEF.

Later in the day I heard that India had already learned of our problem and sent urgent messages to ask Cairo to reconsider.

Hammarskjold, too, is pressing Nasser with a personal visit. Apparently the Egyptian President admires the Canadian diplomatic efforts but fears that people in his country will be divided if our troops replace the British ones.

December 4, 1956 . . . The dust has settled. The Canadian participation in UNEF consists of transport vehicles to carry other troops to the Middle East and administrative personnel to help organize the operations. No Canadian fighting personnel will take part.

Postscript, 1957 . . . General Burns has written to say that the arrangement has turned out to be a blessing in disguise, for his work anyway. In a letter to Mike he said that the efficiency of our soldiers has been the answer in helping UNEF come together smoothly for its operations.

I guess peacekeepers can be typists too!

When the United Nations is putting a peacekeeping team together there seem to be a few countries who play important roles by participating in the operation. Canada is one such nation.

The high professionalism of the Canadian army, the reputation of Canada within the Commonwealth of Nations, and our impartiality in previous operations are all important reasons why this country plays a continuing role in peacekeeping tasks.

Other than the superpowers or the permanent members of the Security Council, there are not many countries who have the military system to become involved in these operations. Remove from your list the U.S.A., USSR, Britain, France and China. What nations are left?

Japan's constitution forbids its forces to be stationed abroad; Germany is in the same situation. Because the Soviet government has taken a strong position against more peacekeeping actions, the Warsaw Pact countries have been left with little choice but to avoid involvement even though some, such as Poland, are well suited to participate.

One is left, then, with the Scandinavians, Canada and the Third World. The Third World simply cannot participate because they lack the military system to be involved. If they do participate for even a short time such as six months, they seem to find that they lack the base back in their homeland to sustain a battalion's operation elsewhere. Nepal, for example, went into the first UNEF and soon realized that it could not raise another battalion or two at home to rotate their forces serving with the UN troops.

Nations find it expensive to have one battalion away and then prepare another battalion to be ready in six months to go in rotation.

At home the troops must be cut off from their regular duties to get ready for the UN service. While one battalion is on the way to the crisis area, one is transferring back and a country must keep a third at home for normal needs. This is an expensive program which prevents most Third World countries from participating.

In addition, the fragile political situation within some of these new nations means that their governments often are not willing or secure enough to allow the armed forces to be reduced in strength within the country.

The UN starts preparing a force when it looks as if a crisis case will develop. Long before the time when the force is needed, the Secretariat has its feelers out, saying, "If you are asked to participate in a proposed force, what will you, Canada, be prepared to give us?"

Each country has to examine the matter at home first. Some nations may indicate that they want very much to participate; Finland, for example, has pulled out of the UN Cyprus operation and is holding a battalion in reserve because it wants to go to Namibia, Africa, where the next UNEF is planned.

The Secretary General tries to get all these countries' participation together like a shopping list. Then he goes to the Security Council and assesses their reactions to the proposed UNEF. Will they object to the force if it is structured in a certain way? Will they authorize it? All of this is done informally.

The Soviet ambassador might indicate that his country will have nothing to do with the force if nation X participates. The Secretary General must then redesign the composition of the operation. In this way he polls and tries to satisfy the five permanent Security Council members.

At the same time he has to deal with the parties in the dispute. He tells them that the Council is about to authorize such a force. He asks their reaction to the plan if it is composed of certain members' troops. One of these parties may refuse to co-operate with the force if nation Y is included; another absolutely refuses to back the proposal because too few black nations are represented or because they distrust the proposed commander.

All this negotiating goes on behind the scenes until a force is developed. Then comes the formal public debate in the Security Council Chamber. Each of the Council members gets a chance to state its position although the resolution is already really well considered and usually set before the Council even begins its discussions.

For the diplomat or politician this procedure might seem quite satisfactory. Complaints have been heard from the military specialists, however, because it is hardly the best way to set up an efficient or effective military operation.

Even while these arrangements are being planned behind the scenes internationally, within each nation which might participate the same sort of activity is going on. In Canada, for example, the diplomats will know that we could be asked to join in the operation so they turn to the military experts to see if we have the capability to participate. An interdepartmental task force is formed to examine the matter carefully.

If the armed forces are capable of participating there are still foreign policy considerations to review. Does Canada want to become involved? Can Canada afford not to get involved? If we do become involved, what conditions should determine our role? How will the operation be financed? Will our country be expected to pick up a major portion or even all of the bills for the work? Can Canada afford an extra ten million dollars in the defence budget to keep this force going? Who are the other participants and are we going to be in good company? Is the force likely to be effective? Do we want to be associated with a force whose probability of success seems low?

Through our embassies and high commissions around the world we seek more information. Our diplomats speak with diplomats of other nations to get their decisions and these people, too, want to know Canadian points of view on the issue.

The High Commissioner in London, for example, might report that his office has held discussions, in which certain developments were revealed, with the Commonwealth Office. The military attaché of our embassy in Oslo might wire his report that at a lunch with Norway's Planning Officer for UN Activities he has picked up more reaction.

This information is funnelled to Ottawa. The Canadian permanent mission to the UN in New York also plays a key role because New York is the one

focal point where every country is represented and where the decision will finally be made.

Even when a decision has been made that Canada should join a UNEF the proper procedure to make the step legal in Canada has not been definitely established. The political parties in Ottawa have disagreed on this procedure. Recently the government has followed the plan that if our country is sending only observers or non-combat personnel to the crisis zone, then Parliament need not be summoned for its approval. However, if a combat unit which may have to engage in active operations goes abroad, then the approval of Parliament is sought.

Canadian observers went to Lebanon, for example, and Parliament did not meet on the issue. But when our troops were about to go to Cyprus, the Members of Parliament did debate the move.

The UN has recently been told that, in future peacekeeping missions, Canada will send mainly combat troops because we have already sent so many logistics* specialists for existing operations that our remaining supply of these people must be retained for national use within the country.

* *Logistics — the art of planning military procedures, movements and supplies*

iii) Participation of Canadian Armed Forces in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations and Observer Missions

THE UNITED NATIONS IN YOUR CLASSROOM

Canada has been asked to send troops as part of a UNEF to a newly independent country in Southern Africa. Two rival groups within the country are trying to grab power, and it appears that its independence is going to be marked by bloodshed and violence.

Using the information from this unit, put yourself in the place of a Canadian official with the responsibility of supervising Canada's role in this. Prepare the following:

1. A list of questions that you will ask the Secretary-General before coming to a decision as to whether or not Canada will participate.
2. A paper for the Canadian Cabinet and Prime Minister indicating your views as to whether Canada should participate and also indicating the kinds of contributions we could make if we were to participate.
3. A speech for the Prime Minister explaining Canada's decision to participate in this force, or else a speech explaining why Canada has decided not to participate.

OPERATION/MISSION	FROM – TO	REMARKS
United Nations Military Observer Group India-Pakistan (UNMOGIP)	1949 to date. There are 9 observers in the area at this time.	During period Sep 65 to Jun/Jul 66 the number of military observers was increased to 19. During this same period air reconnaissance and transport support was provided by 117 Air Transport Unit. Tour of duty is one year.
United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine (UNTSO)	1954 to date	Tour of duty is one year with a two-year tour optional in some cases.
United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) Note: See also UNEF II	1956 to Jun 1967	a. Initial contribution air communication squadron equipped with Otter aircraft, administrative and communication troops with subsequent addition of reconnaissance squadron. Army base units including signals, supply, transport and repair facilities and 115 Air Transport Unit RCAF for total strength of 1007. b. As a result of reorganization of UNEF the reconnaissance sqn. was withdrawn in Feb 66. c. Tour of duty was one year.
United Nations Observer Group in Lebanon (UNOGIL)	1958-59	Canadian contribution was 77 all ranks.
United Nations Operation in the Congo (UNOC)	1960-64	In addition to air advisers and air transport support, Canada provided all the internal communications at HQ UNOC and from HQ to districts throughout Congo involving some 316 all ranks including staff officers and administrative personnel.
United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) West Irian	1962-63	Air detachment of two Otter aircraft and five officers and eight ground crew.
United Nations Observer Mission Yemen (UNYOM)	1963-64	Observers and air detachment of two Caribou and three Otter aircraft for total of 36 all ranks.
United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)	1964 to date	a. Canadian contingent composed of headquarters element, standby battalion and reconnaissance squadron. Canada also provided pers., incl. Cmdr. for Zone (Brigade) HQ for a total strength (before reorg. in 1965) of 1126. b. Zone HQ has been eliminated as result of reorg. in 1965. c. Tour of duty – six months. d. Staff officers tours – one year in some cases. e. 515 personnel currently in Cyprus.
United Nations India-Pakistan Observer Mission (UNIPOM)	1965 to March 1966	Canada provided the Chief Officer, Senior Air Advisor and staff, 117 Air Transport Unit RCAF and military observers for a total strength of 112.

OPERATION/MISSION	FROM – TO	REMARKS
United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF II)	Nov 73 to date	Canada provides 870 personnel who are responsible for supplying all UN troops along the Suez buffer zone. Canadians also provide ground and air tpt, maintenance, postal and communications support.
United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF)	Jun 74 to date	Canada provides 160 troops in the Golan Heights where they supply logistic support to UN personnel on the buffer zone between Syria and Israel.
United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)	April 78 to Oct 78	Canada provided the communications personnel for all UN detachments in Lebanon and mans the HQ. There were 117 troops in the region.
United Nations Command Military Armistice Commission Korea (UNCMAC)	1953 to 1977	Canada provided two men for the Commission. From 1950-54 Canada sent approx. 27 000 troops to Korea for the UN Force that was sent to defend South Korea.
Non-UN-Sponsored Peacekeeping/Observer Missions		
International Control Commission (ICSC) Vietnam & Laos/ Cambodia	1954 to 1973	At peak Canada had some 100 military observers and External Affairs officers in Vietnam & Laos.
International Commission of Control & Supervision (ICCS) Vietnam	Jan 73 to Jul 73	Canada provided 244 military observers and External Affairs officers to supervise the implementation of the agreements of the Paris Peace Talks.

20/Canada and Development: UNICEF Canada

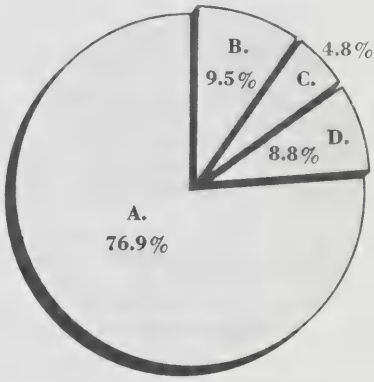
If any UN agency has achieved success, then that agency must be UNICEF, the United Nations Children's (Emergency) Fund. As one of the original bodies created in 1945 when the United Nations organization was established, UNICEF was originally charged with the care of the millions of children in the war zones following World War Two. Today, it has dropped the word Emergency from its official title but has continued to emphasize the needs of young people, particularly those in the developing nations. The General Assembly gave to UNICEF the specific responsibilities for organizing the International Year of the Child in 1979 — a theme which relates to the First and Second Worlds as well, for there, too, children's rights are often not considered and respected in law.

In order for you to see how UNICEF is supported, and how it spends its funds, a number of charts and cases are presented below. The charts describe UNICEF's worldwide activities; they come from UNICEF headquarters in New York. The case studies show what particular programs are supported by UNICEF Canada (the national committee in our country which has been created by volunteers from each province to inform the public about children in the developing world and to organize Canadian support for UNICEF). Two of UNICEF Canada's best-known projects are the Halloween collections and the sale of greeting cards, particularly at Christmas.

UNICEF REVENUE 1976

(in millions of US dollars)

A. Government Contributions:		
a. Regular annual contributions	80.9	—
b. Other special government contributions for specific projects and relief contributions through the United Nations	—	—
Sub-Total	23*	103.9
B. Non-Governmental Contributions: (including Halloween campaigns, television appeals and other general collections and donations by groups and individuals for specific purposes)	—	12.9*
C. Greeting Card Operation	—	6.5
D. Other Income	—	11.9
Total	—	135.2



*Includes funds-in-trust received for UNICEF-assisted projects.

UNICEF programme aid has risen from an annual average of $24.7 million during the years 1960-1964 to an annual average of $73.2 million during the years 1972-1976.

COMMITMENTS

Three-year Summary (1975-1977)—by Region—by Type of Programme—in thousands of US Dollars.

	Africa	East Asia & Pakistan	South Central Asia	Eastern Mediterranean	The Americas	Inter-regional	TOTAL	Per cent
Child Health and Water Supply	47,993	61,117	11,102	10,659	8,046	493	139,410	48.1
Child Nutrition	9,076	11,321	2,633	1,548	6,201	395	31,174	10.8
Social Services for Children	9,234	9,549	496	5,703	2,770	—	27,752	9.6
Education (formal, non-formal and vocational preparation)	19,544	25,679	4,211	6,667	4,329	820	61,250	21.1
Country Planning and Project Development	829	1,909	172	242	2,099	4,765	10,016	3.5
Emergency Aid	—	500	—	—	—	2,657	3,157	1.1
General	3,960	5,967	776	722	1,181	4,250	16,856	5.8
Programme Support Services	18,112	14,167	8,980	9,202	8,590	16,894	75,945	(a)
Total Assistance	108,748	130,209	28,370	34,743	33,216	30,274	365,560	100.0
Administrative Costs							43,456	
Total Commitments							409,016	(b)

a) Programme Support Services have been proportionally distributed into above categories when taking the percentages.

b) Before making adjustment ($3,387,000) in earlier commitments. This reduced total commitments during 1975-1977 to $405,629,000.

BENIN

Well-Drilling Program $425 000

It is not uncommon for women in Benin to walk three to ten kilometres every day carrying a 20 or 30 litre water jug. Through a well-drilling program funded by UNICEF, clean water sources will be provided closer to the rural population.

UNICEF Canada	$212 500
CIDA	$212 500

COMOROS

Education & Health Services $120 000

Comoros became independent in 1975 and is now faced with urgent needs in all sectors of service, especially for children and mothers. UNICEF is providing tools, equipment and furniture for schools in addition to training, supplies and equipment for health centre workers.

UNICEF Canada	$ 60 000
CIDA	$ 60 000

PAKISTAN

Rural Water Supply $400 000

Waterborne diseases are major causes of death among children in the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan. Due to geological conditions, drilling in the region with standard equipment has been difficult. UNICEF is now providing heavy duty, hard rock drilling equipment to drill wells that will provide a safe, clean source of water.

UNICEF Canada	$125 000
Saskatchewan Government	$ 75 000
CIDA	$200 000

EGYPT

Vaccine $350 000

Six major communicable diseases (diphtheria, tetanus, whooping cough, polio, tuberculosis, and measles) are responsible for the deaths of many children in Egypt. In 1976, CIDA and UNICEF Canada funded a nation-wide polio vaccination program which was most successful. The present program is an extension of that project to include immunization against the other five diseases and also to inoculate children in the 0-6 age group who may have been overlooked.

UNICEF Canada	$113 750
Alberta Government	$ 43 750
Manitoba Government	$ 17 500
CIDA	$175 000

QUESTIONS

1. By looking at the charts and case studies try to determine what kinds of needs and what areas of the world are priorities for UNICEF.
2. How do you account for the continuing success of UNICEF in its ability to raise funds and receive public support for its programs while the UN agencies have problems with fund raising and their public image?
3. (a) There is a provincial UNICEF Committee in the capital city of each province. Contact the chairman for your province to find out the extent of donations from the public and the support with matching amounts from the provincial government. (Not all provincial governments match public donations to UNICEF.)

   (b) Research why some provincial governments give matching grants and others do not. By contacting your local Member of the Provincial Legislature you should be able to get information on the policies of your own province.

THE UNITED NATIONS IN YOUR CLASSROOM

One of the main concerns of UNICEF is to make Canadian children aware of how children live around the world; their entertainment, their problems, their daily needs.

Put yourself in the place of a Canadian official working with UNICEF. You have been given the task of educating Canadian children about the organization. Prepare the following:

1. A pamphlet to be distributed to elementary school children explaining what UNICEF is and telling them some of the ways that they can be part of it.
2. A series of posters showing how UNICEF helps children around the world.
3. A series of posters showing the life of children around the world: how they live, the games they play, how they dress, and so on. If you do this as a class project, then perhaps you can arrange to take your information and displays to local elementary schools. In this way you may have the opportunity of turning a project into something closer to real activity.

21/Canada and International Law: *Cosmos 954*

Background to the problem

On January 17, 1978 Canada received an urgent communication from the United States government tracking service. A Soviet satellite was experiencing severe mechanical problems and rapidly losing its orbit. Canada could be one of the locations where its debris might soon crash to the earth.

Some hours later the Soviet embassy delivered a similar notice to our government. The satellite was malfunctioning so badly that their experts could not predict the vehicle's path through the atmosphere any more precisely than the American scientists. Perhaps, they reported, the satellite would crash into the Bering Sea. But another possibility was a fall onto Canadian territory.

Cosmos 954 had been launched in September, 1977 from a cosmodrome near Tyura Tam in the USSR It weighed over five tons and was programmed to orbit the earth at a height of 250 kilometres. Its power source was a nuclear reactor fueled by 50 kilograms of highly enriched uranium 235, a long-lived fuel with a half-life of 713 million years.

Intelligence experts in the West knew that the craft's purpose was to scan the ocean and to track U.S. submarine activities.

This spy satellite joined the 5600 other man-made objects — from a camera dropped by an astronaut to a communications satellite — whizzing through space in every direction.

On average these objects tumble toward the earth at a rate of one a day and most of them burn up into dust as they re-enter the atmosphere. But the Canadian North has been the landing territory for hundreds of pieces of space junk.

By mid-December, 1977, the orbit of *Cosmos 954* had begun to droop. A radio command from Tyura Tam was detected by NORAD satellite watchers but this Soviet effort failed to correct the orbit or shoot the nuclear core into a higher track.

Russian spacecraft had often returned to earth and parachuted their cargos, sometimes human, sometimes mechanical, down onto territory within the Soviet borders. U.S. vehicles had also returned to

international waters where American fleets stood by to scoop the crafts and astronauts from the seas.

But this crash could be a particularly dangerous one. The nuclear core on *Cosmos 954* might explode upon re-entry or upon impact; its potential force would be five times greater than the atomic bombs dropped on the Japanese cities in 1945. What would the extent of the radiation from its junk be? Could some innocent person come upon the debris and be harmed by it? What effects would the crash have on the environment?

Canada relied on the United States for tracking information because we do not have the sophisticated equipment to monitor space vehicles and satellite orbits. At 6:53 a.m. on January 24, the signal from the disabled craft vanished and its descent to earth could only be estimated. The Canadian North seemed to be the spot where its debris would land.

At 7:15 a.m. President Jimmy Carter telephoned Prime Minister Trudeau at his Sussex Drive residence. He offered Canada the assistance of the American experts to locate and handle the potentially radioactive substances.

Already sightings were noted near Yellowknife. One night janitor said she had seen an object like a jet on fire with dozens of little pieces following behind, each one burning. An RCMP constable in a remote post thought the bright light was a blazing meteorite.

Operation Morning Light, as the clean-up project was named, began at once. The U.S. sent two planes, a U-2 and a large KC-135, each carrying radiation sensors to sweep the high altitude for radiation traces. A Canadian nuclear-accident team, twenty-two men equipped with unique lead suits, set out from Edmonton to prepare to collect any fragment. The Americans sent forty-four more specialists to assist with the operation.

Details of the exact nature of the recovery have been sketchy. At least five major radioactive fragments were located and moved to Canadian Forces Base Namao in Alberta. One piece, twenty-five centimetres long by one centimetre thick, was emitting enough radiation to kill anyone holding it for two hours. Another piece was like a grey metal tube about the size of a school fire extinguisher.

Prime Minister Trudeau announced that he had received a note from Soviet leaders in Moscow "expressing their concern, offering their help and co-operation." He never took up their offer by requesting manpower, but Defence Minister Danson revealed that the Soviets did not co-operate fully.

"We're not getting all the answers we'd like," the Minister said. "The answers coming from the USSR are not as precise nor as complete as we had hoped. The Russians, in fact, have not even acknowledged ownership of the fragments."

Among the answers Canada sought were the precise type of fuel in the satellite, the exact make-up of the uranium compound, the size and shape of the fuel core and whether or not the core was designed to destroy itself upon re-entry.

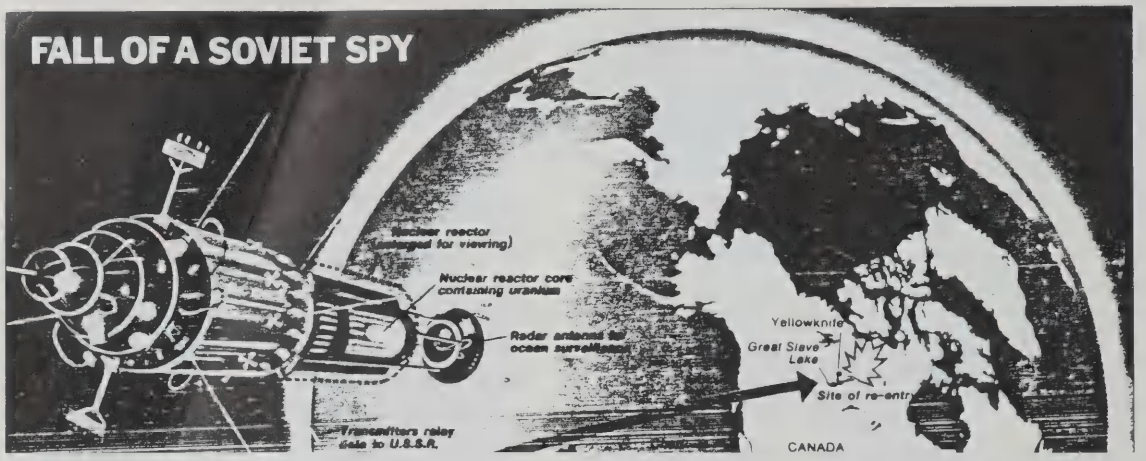
The search continued until the autumn of 1978. Three thousand bits of debris were recovered. Most were tiny and many were radioactive.

Our government's bill for the operation totalled fifteen million dollars. This included amounts for the recovery tasks, particular care for the environment and for the native people, as well as costs to keep personnel on guard and search for the debris.

The Soviet government rejected the Canadian claim for cleanup costs. They said that the extreme measures which the Canadian government chose to use in Operation Morning Light were not necessary. As well, a Soviet space expert in New York remarked that his country was not obligated to pay the costs of the search because Canada rejected their offer of help.

The Problem

Member states of the United Nations have all signed an international guideline, called a convention, which provides for the exchange of information on space vehicles. By the terms of this agreement everyone should be aware of what satellites and space vehicles are in orbit. But the convention does not provide any detailed plan of what should happen to notify others of imminent failures and who should bear respon-



sibility for accidents or damage caused by these vehicles.

There is a general statement in the convention that the nation which has launched the craft bears some responsibility for its course but because there has never been a case of damage in history, no specific terms for action and response have been set down in international law.

Canada and the Soviets have conducted bilateral negotiations on some of the issues related to this incident. Other items have been set for debate by a special committee of the United Nations. The USSR government has refused to permit the matter to be included on the agenda of the UN General Assembly and Canada knows it cannot force the topic because the Russians can muster enough support to have the topic left off the agenda.

Your problem, now, is to consider the following issues and develop solutions which would be mutually acceptable to the parties in this dispute. Remember that a decision which might please one side alone is not enough. No one can force any decision on any other sovereign state so all solutions must be answers which all the parties are willing to accept.

The Specific Questions

1. When should nations of the world be warned that a space vehicle is in difficulty and that a crash might occur?
2. How should this warning be delivered?
3. How is the cost of the damage done by a disabled space vehicle to be established?
4. Who is responsible for the payment of these costs?
5. How can a government collect the money to pay for the damage if the other party or parties refuse to accept the amount of the costs?
6. In your opinion did the Canadian government make a mistake in refusing the Soviet offer to send personnel to assist with the clean-up?

THE UNITED NATIONS IN YOUR CLASSROOM

Canada, like other nations in the world, is concerned not only with the fall of *Cosmos 954,* but with the possibility of future dangerous incidents of this kind. Your task as a Canadian representative to the UN will be to try to persuade the UN to establish rules and conventions to deal with incidents of this kind.

Put yourself in the place of the Canadian ambassador to the UN and prepare the following:

1. A note to the Soviet ambassador to the UN explaining Canada's reaction to the Soviet response to the fall of *Cosmos 954.*
2. A speech that you will deliver to the General Assembly in which you put forward Canadian proposals for rules to govern any future incidents of this kind.

22/Two Views on the UN

For all the energy and money our nation has given to the United Nations, there are still critics who question the organization's worth and Canada's commitment to it.

Consider these two views about the UN.

Knocking the United Nations is fashionable, particularly in the West now that voting control has shifted heavily and irretrievably from the developed countries to the Group of 77, a loose alliance of developing countries which allows for 114 of the UN's 147 members. The UN's detractors tend to focus on the meaningless debates in the General Assembly and Security Council and to overlook the work of the specialized agencies and of such ancillary activities as the Law of the Sea Conference. . .

It is a mistake, I submit, to assume . . . that the United Nations is indispensable, to assume that the world could not muddle through without the UN. It is also a mistake to assume that national governments (including the one in Canada) view the UN as anything more than a convenient stage and an occasional vehicle by which to advance their national self-interest. Finally, it is a mistake, at least in Canada, to assume that the general public is really interested in the UN.

A respectable argument can be made, I think, that the United Nations is not so much indispensable as inevitable. It's been around since 1945. It has swelled to a bureaucracy, counting all its agencies, that exceeds 40 000 employees. It may not be fulfilling its aims, but it is much easier to leave the UN alone and to ignore it whenever it gets in the way — than it is to abolish or reform it.

UN officials point with pride to the fact that the UN has been deeply involved in the Middle East since 1948. They might ask themselves why, after 29 years, the Arabs and Israelis are still poised at each others throats. Why, if the UN is really indispensable, must initiatives on the Middle East, on Rhodesia, on South Africa come from the great powers? Is it not true that decisions taken by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) have a greater impact on the world than decisions of the Security Council? How many people have even heard of the UN's Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination which was declared on December 10, 1973? How relevant is the UN's Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism when it can't even agree on a definition of "terrorism"? What use is the UN's Conference of

the Committee on Disarmament when one nuclear power, France, refuses to participate and another, China, is not a member?

Geoffrey Stevens, Toronto *Globe and Mail,* May 18, 1977

Despite what you read, the UN still works well. . . (It) is not expiring. It is, in fact, living through one of its most creative phases. What's more, the Canadian contribution is as effective and constructive as it has ever been.

That, admittedly, is not the conventional wisdom. The UN is said to be in a precarious state, and Canada's part in it is seen as that of an ineffectual observer relegated to third-class status.

But the UN is always most creative when it is most dangerously challenged. The world issues . . . cannot be avoided. Governments are just beginning to cope with them in the established UN organs and agencies and by special conferences on resources, population, food, and the law of the sea. If the UN did not exist, something like it would have to be invented.

It has been said of peace that it is no longer a "whether" question; it is a "how" question. The same is true of the equalization of economic advantage. . . . Nobody foresaw the world we are in. Flogging our guilt complexes, avoiding thought and sacrifice by blaming OPEC or the CIA or Kurt Waldheim may be fun, but they are distractions we cannot afford.

In the circumstances of this period one favourite scapegoat is the bureaucracy — paralysed, it is said, by inertia and its effortless preference for the status quo. Such a generalization would be gross misjudgement in Canada at the present time. The agenda of the UN, more than ever before, occupies the attention not just of the Department of External

Affairs but of a dozen Canadian ministries. The best kept secret in Canada is the extraordinary degree of successful initiative Canadians have taken in recent years in the most fruitful area of UN activity; extending international law and regulation.

The subjects may seem more mundane than those dealt with by the Great Powers in the Security Council, or than the Suez crisis in which Canada gained respect in 1956. But are they less important to people? There was, for example, the Canadian-Swedish initiative to get UN consideration of the effects of direct satellite broadcasting, and the Canadian initiative to get international action on the sensing of earth resources by satellites. These steps are essential for an international community in a new age and for the defence of Canadian culture, economy, and sovereignty.

Canada, concerned over the role of multi-national corporations but realizing that this was a world-wide and not just a Canada-United States issue, was responsible for getting a discussion of the legal aspects under way in the United Nations Committee on International Trade Law. It has also co-sponsored proposals in various UN organs to cope with hijacking.

These are only a few of the activities in which Canadians have been actively engaged. Compounded, they are a calculated and well-reasoned campaign. It is closely related to the national interests of Canadians but it reaffirms the traditional Canadian conviction that the interests of Canada, an inescapably international country, are best protected by the development of world order and the extension of international rules.

The alternative [to the UN] is to lapse into anarchy. The struggle to discipline ourselves with international law has been going on, not just since the UN was founded, but over at least three centuries. It is chargeable but not expendable. Because it is based on voluntary acceptance rather than imposition by force it is always vulnerable.

A people so utterly dependent as Canadians on the tranquil international exchange of goods and services dare not lose sight of our vital interest in a structured international community.

From "Despite what you read, the UN still works well" by John Holmes, *Saturday Night,* July/August 1978

QUESTIONS

1. You are to be a speech writer with the task of composing addresses which might have been given at the UN by Canadian spokesmen on four different occasions — once in each decade, the 1940's, the 1950's, the 1960's, the 1970's.

   Choose the events around which you will develop the speech for each decade and compose a short presentation for each occasion.

NOTES:

1. Details on current developments for Canada at the UN may be requested through the United Nations Division, Department of External Affairs, 125 Sussex Drive, Ottawa, K1A 0G2.

   The UN has its own Office of Public Information at UN Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017, U.S.A.

   These are excellent sources of information for your research, just as you might examine the biographies and autobiographies of former Canadian leaders such as our Prime Ministers.

2. A model UN General Assembly in your school or class is a good way to experience the work of this body. The United Nations Association in Canada distributes information about how to organize and conduct such a meeting. Write to them at 63 Sparks Street, Ottawa, K1P 5A6 and ask for the booklet, *The UN in Your High School.*

   This booklet lists other ways to consider the work of the United Nations and its agencies.

23/Issues and Activities

1. In the last decade there has been a growth of international terrorism. The groups responsible for this use tactics such as airplane hijacking, assassination, kidnapping, bombing, and training in terrorism for other countries' guerrillas to accomplish their objectives.

(a) Compile a list of specific terrorist groups and incidents.

(b) Suggest ways which would be acceptable and workable for nations to cope with these organizations and incidents.

(c) Why might some courses of action be acceptable only to certain groups of nations?

(d) Why might the UN not be the best arena in which to work out these courses of action at this time?

2. Geoffrey Pearson, who co-ordinates Canada's activities at the UN from External's headquarters in Ottawa, has suggested that because over 130 of the UN's members are representatives of the Third World bloc*, the topics which get to the General Assembly's agenda easily are the ones which these particular nations prefer. Such issues, he has suggested, fall into three categories:

—economic development and the treatment of resources
—discrimination and human rights
—colonialism, especially as related to the settlement of the Middle East.

(a) The class should save newspaper and magazine articles which deal with examples of each of these categories. Note any role played by Canada in each case.

(b) Why has the General Assembly become so dominated by the Third World?

(c) Evaluate the effects of a strong Third World bloc on the UN.

(d) How should Canada's international role, and, in particular, our UN activities, be shaped or influenced by this Third World position?

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* *Bloc — group*

3. Because the majority of nations today are Third World countries, and very poor, their entire international effort seems devoted to the ultimate redistribution of the world's wealth. In effect, this puts rich Canada on the defensive.

(a) How might Canada defend its high standard of living in the face of so much world poverty?

(b) Do you believe Canada has a responsibility to defend itself on this question at all?

(c) What, then, do you believe the future holds for Canada's relationship with the majority of the world's people?

(d) What personal responsibility do you have for the rest of the world? What opportunities exist for you to become personally involved in helping the rest of the world to achieve what you now have?

4. (a) Within our own borders Canada uses taxes as one method to attempt to redistribute the national wealth. In this way we try to keep all areas equal in their standard of living.

Find examples of how taxes are used within Canada to accomplish a fair balance of wealth.

(b) In international affairs there is no system of global taxation. How, then, can the world redistribute its wealth to accomplish a fair and equal standard of living for its billions of people?

Unit 4

Conclusion: What Should Our Global Responsibilities Be?

At many points in this book you have been presented with questions and ideas about the world and our Canadian responses to these problems.

To conclude your studies here is one man's carefully considered thoughts on these questions.

24/One Man's Thoughts

Douglas Roche is a Member of Parliament from western Canada. He has specialized in examining the Canadian government's international affairs. He has travelled widely and written and spoken out publicly in his dedication to improve Canada's foreign policies and actions.

As you read this speech try to make note of the problems Mr. Roche sees in the world. What specific steps does he recommend in his "enlightened internationalism" for our country? Do you believe he is justified in his criticisms of Canada's work to date?

What is your own carefully considered reaction to these ideas?

At the end of my meeting with India's Prime Minister, Morarji Desai, he appealed for better understanding of human needs throughout the world. "Look at the baby who is just born," he said, "whether in India, Canada, Latin America or Africa. It is the same baby. It smiles the same, cries the same, responds the same to love. Let us learn from the baby how to live together on this planet."

A simple and powerful message — one that dramatized the fundamental unity of mankind which I had been sensing on my trip around the world.

Recently I spent the month of July on a foreign policy mission to Britain, Syria, Jordan, Israel, India, South Korea and Japan. What I saw convinced me that Canada can play a more active, creative role in the international community, and it is in our interests to do so.

For a long time we have known of the inescapable physical unity of the planet, the interdependence of winds, tides and climates. International systems of trade and commerce reflect this physical interdependence.

As I travelled throughout the world, seeing people in their own habitats, I was struck by deep common desires that link the human family. People everywhere want to live in an atmosphere of security, economic progress and development of the systems that promote human dignity. The wide discrepancies in attaining these goals jolt the traveller, but the desire to have decent, happy, peaceful, orderly, satisfying human relationships is now a common characteristic.

I remember vividly the native Anglican priest from the Solomon Islands proudly carrying his country's flag down the aisle of Westminster Abbey in London during a service marking the Solomon Islands' entry into the Commonwealth; the widow in an Indian village, with a buffalo tethered to her hut, grateful for a dairy cooperative that buys the milk from the buffalo; the rich Japanese businessman telling me the legislative improvements needed in Canada to make our country more attractive to Japanese capital.

All of these incidents reveal the very human qualities that make up the world.

The problem is how to put into place sensible international arrangements that will promote the new creativity possible in the technological age.

For, despite the human movement forward, the world is an increasingly dangerous place. All the briefings I received from security experts convinced me that strong and expensive defence commitments must be maintained, especially while Soviet expansionism in Eastern Europe and Africa is so pronounced. The first requirement for any government, therefore, is to maintain strength against attack and to work for nuclear control to prevent expansionists and revolutionaries from slaughtering humanity and blowing up the planet in the process.

Achieving a proper balance between the security and developmental needs of the world is now a top priority.

As a middle power, Canada is not called upon, nor are we able, to re-make the world in our own image. But what we must do is respond to the realities of the global village with a policy of enlightened internationalism.

Some say we cannot fully participate in world affairs until we get our own house in order, until we solve our national unity and domestic economy problems. This is short-sighted. For a strong Canadian foreign policy, built on the pillars of security, freer trade and world development, would provide a new sense of direction for Canadians, who are among the most privileged and fortunate people in the world.

If we want to preserve the security, freedom and progress that we enjoy, Canadian foreign policy must be pursued with more vigor. Indeed, a new understanding of Canada's role in a world seeking more security, trade and development would itself be an enormous contribution to our internal struggle over national unity.

The task for Canadian foreign policy in the 1980's, then, is to harmonize our independence with the needs of an interdependent world. To do this it must be flexible enough to take an enlarged view of the opportunities which unite and the problems which divide mankind.

This leads to a wider view of world problems than merely the traditional concerns of diplomacy. A partial list would include the escalating arms race, nuclear proliferation, food and energy shortages, the widening gap between the developed and developing countries, and world-wide inflation and unemployment.

The goal should be to strengthen Canada's voice and actions in the world community. Only the world community — principally through the United Nations and its many agencies — can bring about practical solutions to global human problems: to end world hunger in the next ten years, to provide every human being with clean water by 1990, to implement a housing program which will provide a decent shelter for every family in the world.

Of course, the public does not perceive how this can be done. This is because political leadership is in such short supply. We need to recognize that moving toward a more dynamic global economy is in the mutual interests of both the developed and developing countries.

Instant communication, rapid transportation and a better spirit of international cooperation by national governments are improving the network of interdependencies that constitute modern life. All of this is a new sign of hope that the world, amidst its griefs and anxieties, can attain a more balanced and stable development.

Crown Prince Hassan of Jordan spent an hour giving me an illustrated lecture on Middle East development plans which could produce what he called a "Singapore-based economy."

Japanese Foreign Minister Sunao Sonoda told me Japan is now prepared to work for the improvement of the whole world economy. Prime Minister Desai asked me to promote stronger ties between Canada and India, two countries that can influence the world community.

Everywhere I went on my trip, local officials told me the time is ripe for Canada to engage in joint development ventures abroad. We ought to involve the Canadian private sector in the implementation of foreign policy through stimulating more joint ventures in such areas as oil, rapeseed, fisheries, nuclear technology, STOL aircraft, and housing. There were vast opportunities for economic cooperation and trade generally. South Korea, which has undergone a startling development, presents a particularly striking opportunity.

There are more initiatives that Canada could take: a new joint, broadly-based India-Canada committee to restore the strong tie that existed between us prior to India's 1974 detonation of a nuclear device; a bridge-building role in the Middle East to help an emerging group of Jewish and Arab leaders make contact with one another to explore common interests; the improvement of international travel and accommodations in Canada to attract the growing number of tourists, particularly from the Pacific Rim, who want to come to Canada.

I was surprised to note the number of times the message was conveyed to me in my meetings that Canada is not regarded as playing its full and proper role in world affairs today. Our foreign service officers abroad feel the lack of strong political direction. A more active, creative role by Canada, instead of an inclination to passivity and self-preoccupation, would be welcomed throughout the world.

Douglas Roche, M.P.

25/Useful Names and Addresses

Canadian International Development Agency,
Education Office,
Place du Centre,
200 rue Principale,
Hull, Quebec KIA 0G4

Department of National Defence,
Information Division,
National Defence Headquarters,
Ottawa, Canada K1A OK2

Canadian Council for International Co-operation,
75 Sparks Street,
Ottawa, Canada K1P 5A5

Canada Red Cross Youth,
4750 Oak Street,
Vancouver, B.C. V6H 2N9

CUSO
151 Slater Street,
Ottawa, Canada K1P 5H5

UN Association in Canada,
63 Sparks Street,
Ottawa, Canada K1P 5A6

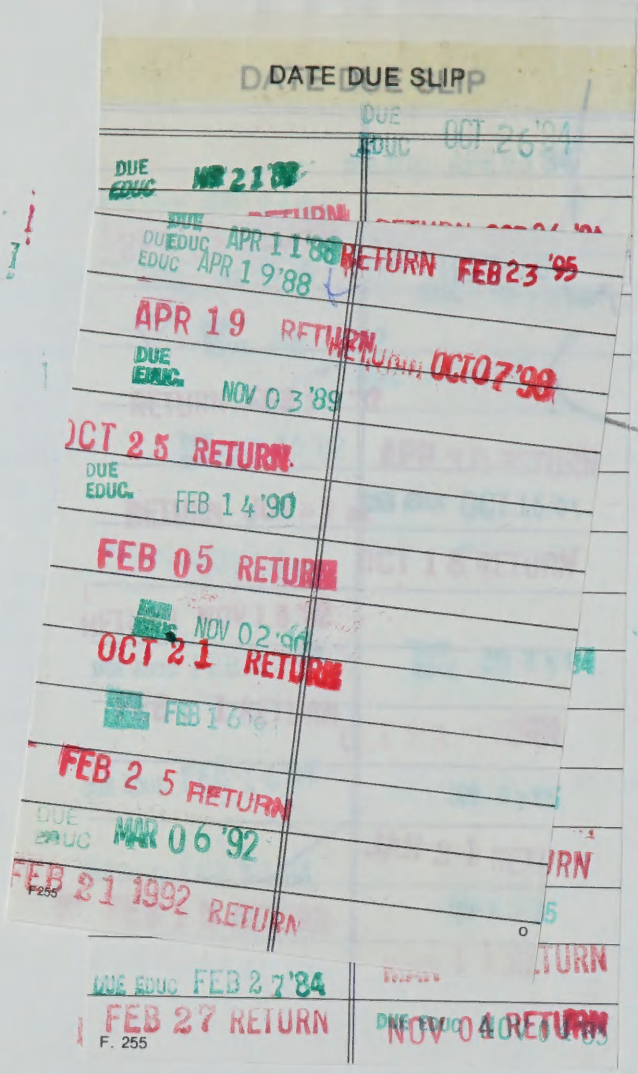
Office of Public Information,
United Nations,
New York, N.Y. 10017,
U.S.A.

The Department of External Affairs,
Public Relations Division,
Lester B. Pearson Building,
125 Sussex Drive,
Ottawa, Canada K1A 0G2

Radio Canada International,
P.O. Box 6000,
Montreal, Quebec H3C 3A8

Information Service,
NATO/OTAN,
1110 Brussels,
Belgium.

UNICEF Canada,
443 Mount Pleasant Road,
Toronto, Ontario M4S 2L8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